

No. 31

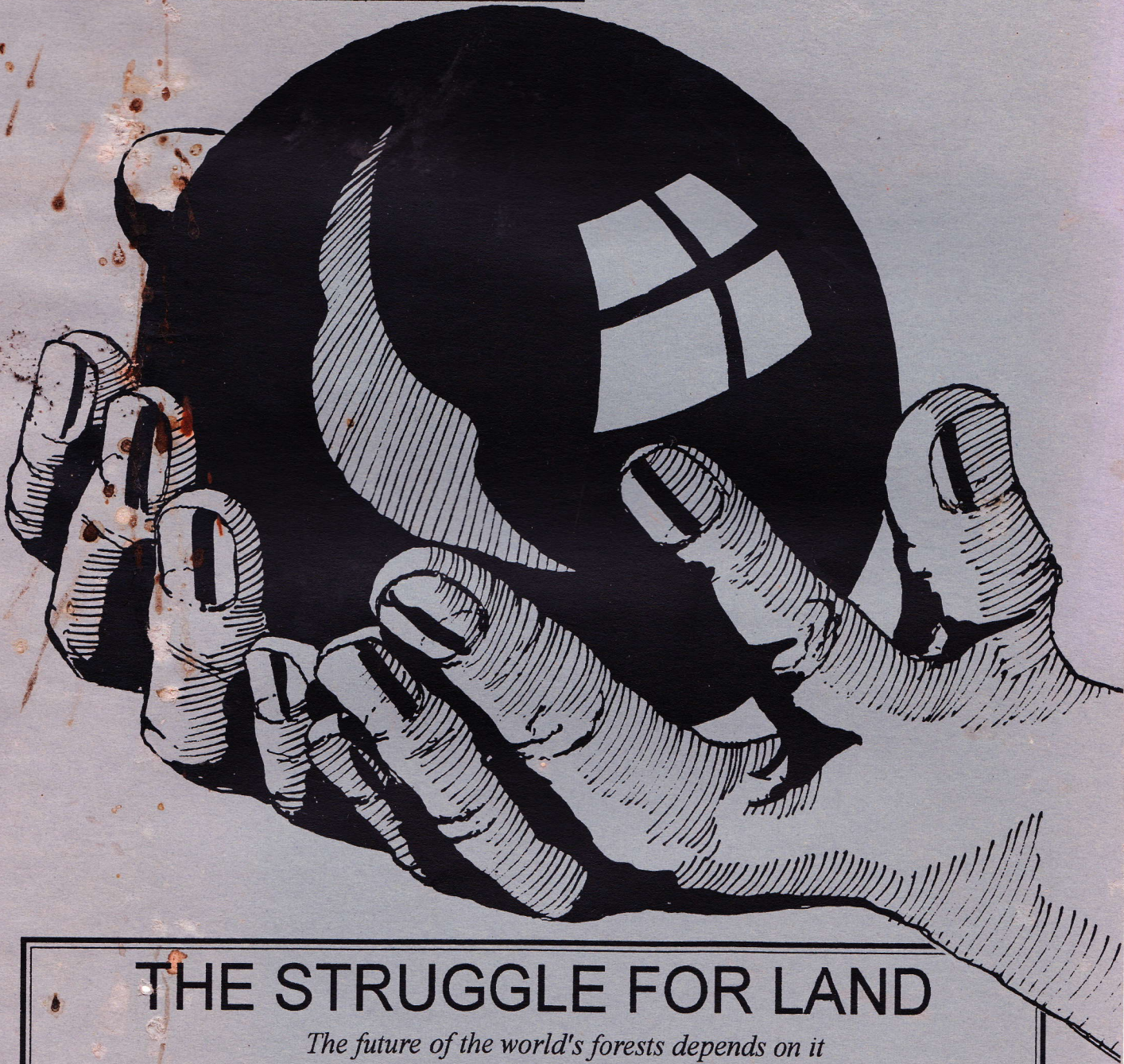
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# World RAINFOREST Report

JUNE 1995

## PREDICTIONS & PROPHECIES

The green movement habitually makes gloomy forecasts about what will happen to the Earth if we don't mend our ways. But does anyone listen? p.3



## THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND

*The future of the world's forests depends on it*

### ACTION PAGES

Eight pages on how you can help save rainforests



## In This Issue

**Cover Story**

One of the main tactics used by green groups in their attempts to change the behaviour and values of the general public is to make dire predictions about what will happen if our behaviour and values don't change. It hasn't worked very well. The cover story (p.3) by Christopher Titmuss deals with this issue.

**Timber Labelling**

Also in this issue is an article on timber certification by Rosalind Reeve on behalf of the German NGO, Rettet den Regenwald (p. 30). It is a critique of the Forest Stewardship Council and its plans for international accreditation of the tropical timber trade. Our intention in running this article is not to oppose timber certification schemes, but to promote debate. The questions raised by this article must be answered if timber certification schemes are to have any credibility.

**The Struggle for Land**

The article by Marcus Colchester, "The Struggle for Land" (p.23), deals with an issue which is crucial to the future of the world's rainforests. Landless peasants are the biggest single agent of rainforest destruction, and unless their plight is addressed, rainforests will continue to be cleared in the tropics.

**The Action Pages** in the centre of the magazine are full of requests for support. Of particular concern is the new Brazilian Government's changes to the laws governing the land rights of indigenous people. As the Clayoquot case (p.18) shows, governments are sensitive to international pressure. Writing letters does have an impact.

## Letters

Dear John,

I must commend you and the team at RIC for the latest issue of World Rainforest Report [no. 30]. While I have often found the Report useful, this edition is exceptional. I have been doing research work on rainforest issues for several years and am increasingly impressed by the depth and utility of the information provided by RIC through the WRR. Thankyou all, for your excellent publication. I greatly appreciate your continuing efforts in this important area.

Kind regards and best wishes,

Mike Cookson

Dept. of Geography and Environmental Science  
Monash University, Victoria, Australia

Dear John,

Just wanted to let you know that the last WRR was really excellent. Networking the way we are is having very positive feedback, a number of people have communicated this and asked me how to get snail mail version. I have directed them to you. Also, as you may know, we have set up a big WWW, gopher archive on rainforests/biodiversity. There is a section (directory) there labeled "Rainforest Information Centre (Australia)--World Rainforest Reports" and which contains the two I have networked so far and hopefully will have more in the future. Lots of people access this (on average about 15 people a day).

Sincerely, Glen Barry

*Note: \* World Rainforest Report is available on electronic mail in the US and elsewhere. In WRR 32, we plan to include details on how to access WRR and other rainforest news via computer*

*\* Back Copies of the excellent WRR30, and no's 1- 29, are available for \$2 each plus postage.-- editor.*

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**World Rainforest Report (WRR)**

is published by the Rainforest Information Centre,  
PO Box 368, Lismore, NSW 2480, Australia. Ph. +61( 066) 218505

Editor: John Revington

Cover Design & Drawing: Brian Slapp

Looking After Tane (even at parties): Brenda Crosby

Deadline for articles for WRR32: August 20

World Rainforest welcomes contributions,  
preferably typed, or even better, via email or on IBM  
compatible floppy disks.

*Opinions expressed in World Rainforest Report  
are not necessarily those of the editor or the  
Rainforest Information Centre*



# PROPHECIES OF DOOM - DO THEY WORK?

*Christopher Titmuss is a former Buddhist monk who teaches meditation worldwide and has been a Green Party candidate in England. In this extract from his book, The Green Buddha, he questions the effectiveness of the widespread strategy of using dire predictions of the future as a means of motivating people.*

**by Christopher Titmuss**

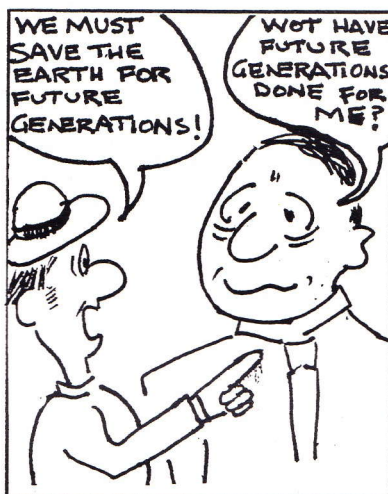
*Dry up the remains of your past and have nothing for your future. If you do not cling to the present then you can go from place to place in peace.*

- The Buddha

Those who take the future of the Earth seriously leave themselves vulnerable. They alienate themselves from the Here and Now through getting caught up in speculation about what might happen to humankind and the Earth. What is the effect of this way of thinking and communicating? Does it make a difference? We have the capacity to examine and re-examine the three fields of time: past, present and future. We can draw upon information gleaned from the past, both distant and recent, as well as current events, using this information to predict the future. Yet despite the dire predictions of some global experts, the future remains uncertain. Although the Green movement uses warnings about the future as a primary tactic to persuade people to change their ways, the priority for political awareness must be the desires and activities of human beings Here and Now.

Buddhism also has concerned itself with the future -- merit making for the future, future results of past or present actions and future lives or rebirths. Though there is not a trace of real evidence to prove or disprove rebirth, millions of Buddhists base their religious beliefs on rebirth and what will happen to them when they die. Making merit, performing deeds of generosity and kindness become some of the means to ensure a happy and worthwhile rebirth in the human or heavenly realm. Prominent Buddhist teachers have used their belief in rebirth as an argument for conservation of resources. They claim that if people

"The belief that painful predictions would really make a difference became the stuff of dreams"



believed in rebirth then society would not be so indulgent in the Here and Now. Since people will be reborn, say these teachers, it is in their own interests to protect resources. It seems absurd to have to take on a belief in rebirth in order to work to end the suffering and violation of the Earth. It is yet another example of obsessions with the future instead of acknowledging the modest usefulness of occasional references to the future.

The last decade established the credibility of the international Green movement. Society recognised that our lifestyle was abusive and damaging to the Earth. Green campaigns on issues such as recycling, waste management,

conservation, global warming, pollution and hazardous chemicals gained street recognition. The demand for information, speakers and memberships of Green organisations multiplied, overwhelming the staff of the Green Party and other Green organisations. In the late 1980's, the Greens experienced a zany period that came and went. As Shakespeare says in *The Tempest*:

The cloud capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve  
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff  
As dreams are made on, and our little life  
Is rounded with sleep.

Those days had the quality of frenzied excitement, like Shakespeare's insubstantial pageant. Then the public's thirst for information faded as attention, guided by the media, moved onto other matters. Green books stored longer and longer on the bookshelves were soon on sale at half the cost price. The belief that painful predictions would really make a difference in people's lives became the stuff of dreams.

The Greens resumed their role as one of the small pressure groups struggling for public attention. But one thing stood out -- the international Green movement was in a crisis. Green issues were on the political agenda, were of concern to millions of people, but made little difference. Green thinking filled the air while the exploitation of the Earth carried on at the same relentless pace. Articulate Green speakers were reaching large audiences, but basic government policies of the relentless pursuit of economic growth were not changing. The knowledge of the Green experts failed to be translated into a comprehensive policy. Talking about the condition of the Earth in the year 2000 AD came to



appear irrelevant to the crisis Here and Now.

More than a decade of yearning for a breakthrough had passed and the fate of the Earth was again on the back burner. The stuff of dreams had hardly impressed itself on the so-called "American dream" of individualism, the personal pursuit of wealth and the unlimited access to continuous pleasure. Simultaneously, the East European revolution lead to expanded demand there for the market economy and a growing desire also to compete for the "American Dream".

The major political parties still revealed their inability to see beyond their mandate to govern. Their ideology excludes long term vision, and their *raison d'être* has little to do with insight, far more to do with perpetuation of their political system, no matter how inappropriate it is for life on Earth. Highlighting the future did have some value because people began to realise the relationship between spiritual values, of respect and reverence for life, and political vision. But emphasising the long-term vision also has consequences, and through sheer repetition the international Green movement became associated with future thinking.

We have dutifully grasped onto every relevant piece of information released by the scientific community about the future state of the world, and used it to argue our corner. The motive for such a strategy was to spread concern, and alarm among the public, to get them and ourselves to change our ways and our voting patterns. But the Green movement fails to grasp the futility of endless "futurising". Every statement we publish about the future is a licence to postpone or delay change. With rare exceptions, human beings are unable to think far ahead in time even when it affects us personally. We certainly cannot peep into the next generation, and long-term projections seem far removed from the nitty gritty of our everyday lives.

Both the Green movement and the

public have imprisoned themselves by alleging to know what tomorrow will bring instead of concentrating on Here and Now. Even if speculations prove accurate, they neither serve genuine environmental concerns nor develop the inner resources of humanity. Many of the worst predictions will occur after most middle-aged people are dead. We go on about what a terrible legacy we are leaving our children but, because such dire warnings sound vague and unreal, we do little about it.

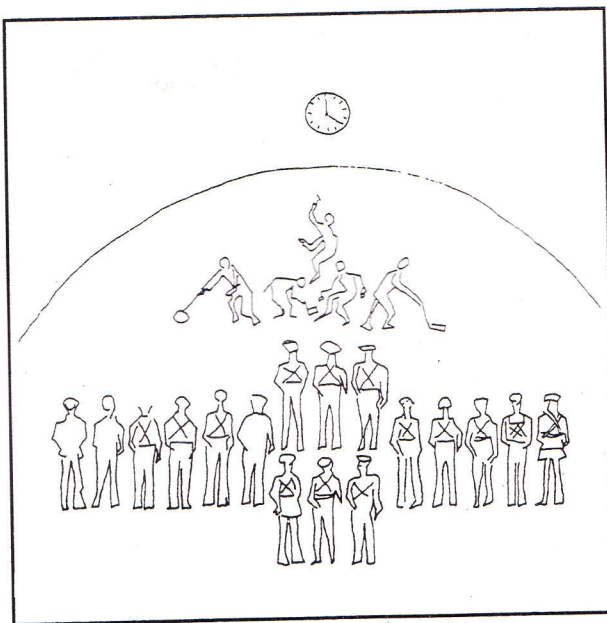
To believe that we have a duty to protect the Earth for future generations requires an immense sense of

an illustration of future thinking run riot. In the late 1980's, when the Greens were receiving massive public attention, a television sports announcer, David Icke, with a made-for television face rose rapidly to prominence in the Green Party. Ironically, the Green Party in Britain and other countries harbours a long standing suspicion of prominent leadership, although unconsciously, it has looked for it. David Icke became a national spokesperson for the Green Party within six months of campaigning for it. Sincere and well-intentioned, Icke leapt to prominence as a party leader because he was a "face", not because of particular insights or vision, but the Green Party acceded to his rapid promotion.

About a year or so later, he held a press conference in London to announce a series of rash prophecies about forthcoming global events. For the most part, he was wildly out of touch with the way events arise dependent on conditions. Nevertheless, his religious views challenged the orthodoxy of the Green Party, which avoids the significance of spiritual experiences upon environmental awareness. The press crucified him. The Green Party put its head in its hands when the concept of "loony Greens" pervaded

the public mind. I would go to give a public talk for the Green Party and hear such remarks as "were you sent by God?" Prominent speakers in the Green Party tried to distance the Party from David Icke and his self appointed role as a religious prophet with green credentials. Yet they had conspired to promote his prominence within the Party and now refused to accept their share of the responsibility for the outcome.

In Britain, the Green Party itself struggled for credibility, if not survival. At the same time, the party entered a period of painful self examination. Leading Party members, including Sara Parkin, Jonathon Porritt and Jean Lambert became involved in the Green 2000 organisation (more future labels) to reorganise the Party's



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**"With rare exceptions,  
we are unable to think  
far ahead in time even  
when it affects us  
personally"**

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responsibility. Such views are full of altruism, yet they lack the power to change the way we live. The response to such ideals will always be lukewarm from governments, corporations and the public, and the Green movement has a duty to end this game of prophecy.

In the history of the Green Party of Britain, one bizarre incident became

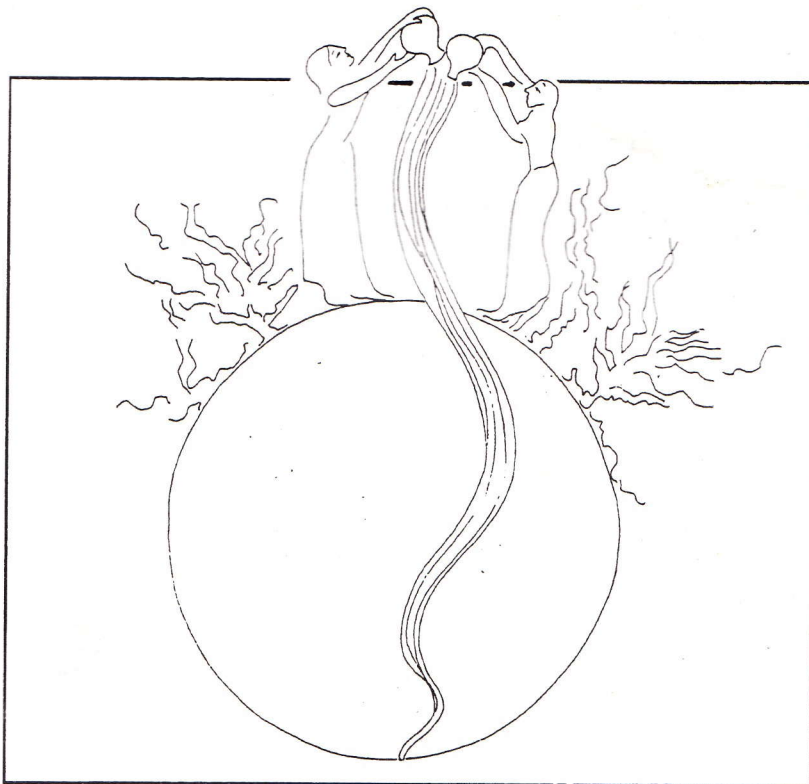


structure. The party overwhelmingly supported their motions and elected two long-standing and active party members to be principal speakers with a nine-party executive committee with specific tasks. These decisions lead to greater accountability within the Party. The Green Party entered its third decade with the decisions of Porrit and Parkin to be nonactive members. In September 1992, in Bonn, Germany, a principal Green, Petra Kelly was found dead in her home. The consensus is that her partner, Gert Bastian, also a prominent Green, murdered her and then turned the gun on himself. No-one knows why.

At the same time, widespread inflation and unemployment in the West placed global and community issues on the back burner of mainstream politics. In its struggle to remain afloat in political waters, the Green Party in Britain faced the gargantuan task of getting the public and the government to undergo an utter U-turn in its economic, environmental and energy policies while committed to organisational change in the party.

Prominent party members had resigned themselves to sitting out that grim period of the Party's history waiting for a resurgence in its fortunes. To their credit, Party activists ignored the internal wrangling of different factions among the Greens and focused their energies on an active concern for the welfare of the Earth, and for some this period of turmoil produced political maturity. With much relief, the Party has moved on from the pain of its internal warfare.

We have only to examine the harsh realities of the Here and Now to realise that society and the environment are in a severe state of daily abuse. Democracy works for the few and deceives the many. Yet to question its present form invites the wrath of reaction of those identified with this system of government. We must distance ourselves from trying to convince the world of the marvel of Western democracy. In Western democracy, ill health plagues numerous families, adults abuse children, children become aggressive. Adults live on a diet of alcohol, cigarettes and pills for insomnia and depression. Banks and businesses hassle everybody to buy more, to get into debt



### **"The future has become an escape from reality, not a contribution to changing it"**

and thus take on board more anxiety. Crime and violence haunt our streets. Crisis centres, advice bureaux operate in cities and towns trying to help people cope with nightmare situations.

The business community, entertainers and sportsmen and women employ agents to grab as much money as possible from their deals. City air is thick with fumes damaging our delicate organic tissues. Excessive pressure on our body invites cells to run amok, the start of cancer, the curse of Western "civilisation". Hospitals, mental clinics, schools and prisons are overcrowded while staff and residents alike hate these institutions. Chemicals and preservatives riddle the public's food; chemical pollution destroys the land. Local rivers are dying; the seas are polluted and unfilthy for fish and swimming. Every week the Water Authorities in Britain permit the dumping of more than 2,000 million gallons of sewage into our coastal waters. There are more than 400 endangered species in Britain of wild animals, birds and butterflies. Profit-hungry farmers, developers and road builders extinguish

our beautiful meadows. Farm animals and birds spend their lives beneath the electric lights of farm factories, and, significantly, weather patterns appear untypical.

Time passes, the future becomes the present. Nothing significant seems to have changed despite immense efforts by well meaning organisations and individuals. Both people and organisations become disillusioned, and for some the need is to work harder. More work builds up pressure and stress until there is the inevitable burn-out. For others, dwelling on the future leads to anxiety, which infects the perceptions of tomorrow producing feelings of insecurity in daily life. We then begin to feel depressed about the condition of life itself.

Campaigns can adversely affect activists' personal lives including relationships, finances, diet and sleep. Some activists experience anger or even hatred towards those who do not perceive the seriousness of the situation. They think of ways to retaliate against those who violate life for profit and prestige. They condemn other campaigners who do not appear as committed or as radical. Frustrated, they form themselves into small groups, thinking of themselves as guardians of the truly Green approach that will protect the Earth, while others compromise their political vision to gain influ-



ence until they have conformed to the prevailing view of the market economy. The idealogues and the compromisers live in a world of extremes at the expense of deep awareness and compassion.

Posturing about the next decade or two obscures our present misery and confusion. The Buddha refused to predict the future and expressed caution about the validity of rebirth. He said: "If there is rebirth . . ." He regarded such predictions as unreliable; nobody can safely read causes and effects and the myriad number of unknowable and unforeseen circumstances that weave events together. Religious teachers, past and present, have frequently made fools of themselves when they made rash prophecies that have proved to be wrong. The Buddha told spiritual seekers not to be concerned with the how, what and when of the future.

Future thinking can produce harmful results rather than positive ones. We imagine people will wake up through highlighting the collective fate of future generations. But predictions become self-fulfilling prophecies, i.e. they lead towards the events they are trying to prevent. Obsessing about the global future feeds into dangerously high levels of fear and anxiety already present. People then engage in self-obsessed pursuits to feel secure, the very tendency which has led to our present mess. The obsession with the future, both personal and global, accelerates the deepening of the nightmare which has already befallen the Earth.

The roots of this mania for "futurising" rest in the values of our culture. Competitive examinations, making money, career, pensions, retirement, breakdown of relationships and fear of loss or change grab our attention. We have no sense of what it is to realise a depth of intimacy with the Here and Now, and we live cut off from day-to-day life by focussing on future worries. When we do actively experience the Here and Now it is often only through getting what we want or losing what we have. The ego's self interest obstructs a direct and enlightening access to the Here and Now.

Based on environmental understanding of the 1970's the Green Party accurately predicted environmental life

in the 1990's. In 20 years, the world's population has increased by nearly two billion, the number of cars on the world's roads has more than doubled, accidents have occurred at nuclear power stations, destruction of tropical rainforests and hazardous chemicals have damaged the ozone layer. The gap between the *have* and *have-nots* has increased sharply between the nations of the overdeveloped and underdeveloped world, as well as the gap between the rich and the poor within nations.

Most reasonably well informed people have access to some alarming figures about what might happen if we continue like this, but that's no substitute for inner and outer change. Today the Party and other Green movements are still making predictions. Unlike religious prophets, the Party has grounded its concerns for the future in scientific analysis, but it is still a form of prophecy. The future has become an escape from reality, not a contribution to changing it. If we are willing to abandon our apocalyptic messages, we can conserve more energy and inner resources for transforming the state of affairs Here and Now. From a spiritual standpoint, the egos, lifestyles and income and greed of the powerful must be challenged. We must work to find ways to enforce their public and environmental accountability. Faith, devotion, renunciation have an important function in safeguarding the Earth and its peoples and we must dig deep into ourselves to find wisdom about today's world, not tomorrow's.

Excerpted from *The Green Buddha* by Christopher Titmuss, Insight Books (Totnes), 1995.

Price: 11 pounds stg. or \$US 18.00 add 20% for post and packaging.

Available from:

Insight Books, c/o Gaia House, Denbury, near Newton Abbot, Devon TQ12 6DY, England. Christopher Titmuss is the author of five other books on social, spiritual and environmental issues.

For information on retreats and teachings contact Gaia House at the above address.

## THAILAND'S ENERGY TENTACLES.

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Critics are becoming increasingly vocal as plans to tap the Mekong River for hydropower are unveiled. Ethnic minorities are being cleared off their lands to make way for large-scale energy schemes. Since the 1970s, communities across Thailand have been fighting to stop these projects.

*Thailand's Energy Tentacles* outlines the role of Australia and the multilateral development banks in hydroelectric schemes in the region. It also contains case studies of aid-financed dams which are causing hardship for local people. The report also deals with the relationship between Australian aid and the coal industry.

*Thailand's Energy Tentacles* concludes that for the sake of socially and ecologically sound development, the dominant energy model pursued throughout the world must radically change. Aid and development must focus on the needs and wishes of disadvantaged communities and the environment, rather than on winning contracts in the Asian marketplace.

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# Taking the Big Australian to Court

## Ok Tedi Landowners Sue BHP

*On the surface things have changed little in the Ok Tedi and Fly Rivers between now and my previous visit to the mine Ok Tedi in 1992. There has been some controversy but BHP has gone on doing what it does best - making money. Now they face a determined legal challenge from a group of landowners, headed by Rex Dagi, a Yonggom customary landowner. The landowners are suing BHP for damages to their river and to force construction of a tailings dam.*

**by Matthew Jamiesen**

Conditions in the river appear to have deteriorated. The bottom of the river continues to aggregate with mine wastes and overburden, causing it to flood out into surrounding forests in times of high flow. The Ok Tedi river has become shallow and wide. The trees along its length are dead. The massive load of sediment in the Ok Tedi leaves it permanently discoloured, yellow or grey. This discoloured water and silt then mixes with the Fly which changes from clear brown to muddy. Caving in banks and dead trees are spreading down the Fly.

Rex reports that the concentrate pipeline has burst on 8 occasions, discharging copper concentrate into the previously unpolluted Ok Ma system. Down stream, Kewai Islanders report increased flooding of their island, poisoning of gardens, disappearance of fish and a river mouth becoming choked with sediment. They say that where the river transports load the large bulk carriers, copper concentrate is spilt into the ocean and that the small island in the Fly mouth where the river transports are cleaned has become contaminated with copper.

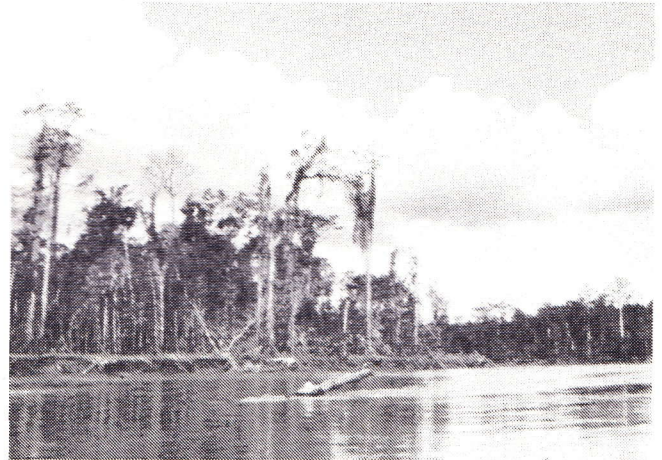
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### Compensation

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What the damages are worth is for the courts to decide. One estimate puts it at \$4 billion dollars. Stockbrokers in Sydney have reportedly devalued the \$3 billion Ok Tedi property by \$850 million, apparently against potential liability. BHP's old partner in the project, Amoco, seems to have withdrawn from the project after landowners and the US group Natural Resources Defence Council made it clear to them that they would be liable for a damages suit. They sold their interest to BHP.

The landowners' case involves 3 test cases being run in the court in Melbourne and a further 500 writs which have been issued in Moresby. The case is being run by the Melbourne firm Slater and Gordon who will get paid only if the case is successful. Preliminaries in the Victorian Supreme Court have gone well. BHP was late in preparation of defence case and then stalled in providing its the environmental reports about the mine. BHP appears to be trying ways to delay proceedings and has sought to have the proceedings transferred to PNG. BHP



has also claimed that the landowners along the Fly river are not the rightful customary land owners. Rex Dagi says this has infuriated landowners. Landowners are hopeful that the judge will set down the case for hearing early next year.

Landowners warned the PNG Government to stay out of the case, otherwise they would find themselves sued for the Government's 20% interest in the mine. The PNG Government introduced a bill which would make OTML pay \$100 million over the remaining life of the mine to compensate landowners, but does not force the construction of a tailings dam. With 29,000 landowners affected, that's about \$500 each per year. It's a start.

On the other side, BHP has doubled production after completing a second slurry pipeline in January 1995. With the one pipeline, OTML operated at a rate of 80,000 cubic metres of ore and 110,000 of overburden into the river every day. Now the amount of tailings and overburden dumped into the system approaches 400,000 tonnes per day. The company is yet to provide the 1993/94 particulate and heavy metal compliance report which was due on March 31 this year. The second pipeline came on stream in January this year, so bets are that it has further exceeded its compliance responsibilities.

Rex states that it would cost the company \$340 million to build a tailings dam. The good corporate citizen BHP seems to be going for broke by upping production, reducing the mine life from 15 to 7 years. As the end of the mine's life draws closer, it becomes less feasible to build a tailings dam.



## Disturbing Politics

There is the prospect of turbulent politics in the region if landowners don't get properly compensated. Given the availability of weapons in the region, there is real potential for Bougainville Mark II.

Further, there are 10,000 West Papua refugees together with OPM fighters inhabiting the region, mostly along the river. Their aspirations for self determination have been thwarted by the tripartite arrangement between Australia, PNG and Indonesia. Australia really needs to look closely at what is going on in this area, especially if the government joins BHP in an attempt to limit landowner compensation.

Australian foreign policy has long had mining interests as one of its cornerstones. Repatriation of profits of mining has always been good for the economy. If government promulgates some kind of armed conflict at Ok Tedi, then it can only be expected to spread across mainland New Guinea. With AIDAB-funded police abounding in PNG, and the Australians and Indonesians advising the PNG Defence Force, we have good reason to be alarmed.

## At the End of the Rainbow

If the legal case is successful, the injection of funds into Western Province would be a huge boon to the PNG economy. Rex indicates that a Preferred Area Development Authority is being organised by a number of people in the neglected border region from Vanimo to Daru. This authority would distribute services and form the principal governing body, so the Provincial Government would become redundant.

Another ramification of a successful case would be a lot of very shitted off BHP shareholders, for a successful suite has the potential to eliminate one year of operating surplus. That means no shareholders' dividends. In such a climate, a strong argument could be put that there be some mandatory conditions in law for Australian companies operating overseas, so that companies are environmentally and socially accountable. Such legislation could protect the interests of the environment, landowners and shareholders from the likes of BHP, who have managed to act as a law unto themselves.

Rex Dagi is a very popular man in Western Province. He has taken on the biggest institution in the province. Formerly an apprentice to OTML during the construction phase, Rex became the only local person to be a major subcontractor to the company. His business in Tabulbil DMY lost its contract with OTML when Rex started suing them.

Rex's phone was disconnected when I was there. He'd just returned from doing patrols along the Fly over the past couple of months. Next for Rex was a visit to talk with the landowners at Freida River, where MIM is proposing another big copper/gold mine on the Sepik River. When I asked what they wanted most, he said they'd like to buy a large outboard motor to travel up and down the Fly and a computer and modem. Outboards cost about \$6000 and computers, well. Rex's Dagi's address: PO Box 527 Tabulbil Western Province Papua New Guinea.

## Strategies to Save PNG's Forests and Future

Environmental Science students at the University of Papua New Guinea were recently asked to answer the question: "What should the environment movement in developed countries do to ensure that PNG's forests survive and the people and future generations benefit?"

The following two answers were received:

"They can petition or push for the PNG Government to stand up to all sorts of pressures coming from all sides. At the moment anybody who tries to stand up against forestry exploitation is thought of negatively. Therefore, what these groups can do is to make the issue public elsewhere so that it will be able to produce fruitful results."

—Marietta Tauno, Environmental Science III, University of PNG

"They should help by funding forest management programs and send those with management knowledge to train and make known the importance of the forest resource to landowners and PNG as a whole. They can also provide the necessary technology and infrastructure needed in forest management. This is because often mismanagement and related problems occur as a result of inadequate staff, lack of funds and support from the national department and minister and officers are usually inexperienced."

—Lilly Mano, Environmental Science III, University of PNG

Forwarded by Darren Gladman, Dept. of Environmental Science, University of Papua New Guinea.



*Talking Leaves* is a journal of deep ecology, inspired personal activism rooted in earthen spirituality. Past issues have featured articles by Gary Snyder, Starhawk, John Seed, Joanna Macy, Bill Devall, Lone Wolf Circles, Barbara Mor, Winona LaDuke, etc.

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# Killings at Freeport Mine

*There has been a history of bad relations between Freeport Indonesia and the local Amungme people whose traditional lands were appropriated when the mine commenced in 1967, two years before the so-called Act of Free Choice which ceded West Papua to Indonesia as its 26th Province. This UN-endorsed process, which many West Papuans consider an injustice, continues to fuel political discontent and an armed movement for independence. Reports that civilians have been killed in recent clashes have now been confirmed.*

'I am always angry at God and why He had to place these beautiful mountains here because the Amungme people have received nothing from Freeport except problems.' - Tuwarek Karkimem an Amungme tribal elder

Tribal leaders in West Papua (or Irian Jaya) say more than twenty native people have been killed in clashes with government soldiers in an area surrounding one of the world's largest copper and gold mines. They allege the killings took place over the last 15 months near the Freeport Indonesia mine in mountains north of the town of Timika.

The Amungme tribe, on whose land the mine is situated, struck an agreement with Freeport in 1976 and have received some material assistance from the company. However, tribal elders say their people are socially and culturally fragmented and addicted to alcohol and tobacco. Living standards are low. Only 13% of all employees at Freeport are West Papuan. The Ajikwa River is badly polluted from the mine and Kwamkila residents have been warned by Freeport authorities not to drink the river water or eat sago growing next to it.

The recent unrest is the first major anti-Freeport protest since 1977 when the Amungme people and OPM independence fighters, in actions reminiscent of Bougainville, blew up Freeport's pipeline to the coast. On that occasion, the Indonesian military bombed and strafed villages and entire communities were resettled away from the mine near the coast.

Concerning the killings, a BBC correspondent filed this report from Timika:

Leaders representing the Amungme tribal group say the killings are part of a pattern of intimidation by the military against the native population, which is scattered in mountain valleys and lowland areas beneath the mine. In recent months, activity by the separatist Free Papua Movement has been reported in the area and Freeport Indonesia says one of its employees was shot dead by rebels last November. But Amungme leaders claim army operations against the rebels have led to the deaths of at least seven native civilians. They say more than a dozen others have been killed in unrelated incidents. While there's no independent confirmation of the allegations, the government has admitted a number of casualties resulted from recent clashes between troops and rebels, but dismissed claims by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, that thirty seven people had either been killed or disappeared.

The huge copper, gold and silver mine, Indonesia's biggest, is located in the rugged Grasberg Mountains. It is owned by the New Orleans-based Freeport McMoRan Copper



and Gold Corp. Other known shareholders include the Indonesian government, RTZ, German and private interests. Freeport currently exports its copper concentrate to Japan, Australia, South Korea, the US and Europe.

From June to December 1994 about 300 indigenous people were involved in a series of protests against Freeport, which operates in the customary lands of the Amungme and Kamoro peoples of the Central Ranges in Indonesia's easternmost Province of 'Irian Jaya'. Indonesian authorities accuse the Amungme of being Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan (GPK) or security disturbers, a term which refers to the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) or West Papua Liberation Movement.

Protests of the so-called 'GPK rebels' in the form of uprising, flag raising and peaceful demonstration started in Bella village in the far east in June, shifted down to Tsinga valley during July to December and ended with a peaceful demonstration and flag raising on 25 December in Tembagapura.

The longest action which involved 'GPK rebels' and the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) in a serious battle occurred



in Tsinga valley (200 km north of Timika) where the OPM flag was raised during July to December. Armed with arrows and bows, spears, blades and a few machine guns, the rebels fought against the ABRI (Indonesian government) troops that back up the Freeport Indonesia Company.

Eyewitnesses who visited Tsinga to negotiate with the rebels for the release of ordinary people trapped in the battle asked rebel leader Kelly Kwalik why the uprising was staged. He said that it was the rebels' custom each year to commemorate 1 July (West Papua's Independence Day) and that they absolutely oppose Freeport's takeover of their land and exploitation of the mineral resources within their sacred sites. They feel that since Freeport started in 1967 the lives of the indigenous peoples have grown worse, they themselves have been deprived of their lands and many of them have been killed every time they protest.

Mr Kwalik is concerned about the impact of Freeport's Contract of Work (CoW) II on Bloc B, covering 2.6 million ha of the Central Ranges near the border of Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea, that will affect thousands of indigenous people inhabiting the area. He said that with this new contract their lives will be more devastated, the environment and culture degraded and many people displaced. Ultimately there will be no future for them as indigenous people. The Amungme chief pointed to the problems faced by the Amungme and Kamoro people, who since the Freeport mine began in 1967 have lost 10,000 ha of their customary lands without any compensation. Mineral resources within their sacred sites are extracted without consent and the environment is destroyed. He declared that they will keep fighting for their rights with arrows and bows, spears and blades. He said that in this way they would appeal to the deepest heart of the international community to open their ears, their eyes and their minds to the slaughter, plight and streams of blood of Jo-Mun Nerek's children (the indigenous people) that pour in this land.

Jo-Mun Nerek is the Amungme tribe's ancestors' spirit. This spirit lives in the mountains and it is there to care for and look after the Amungme people. They believe that when the Amungmes die their spirits go to the mountains. This is why the mountains are sacred to this people.

Information from eyewitnesses said that ABRI troops searched every corner of Tsinga and Hoca villages to capture and kill the civilians, specifically those related to the 'rebels' in the forest. Six of Kwalik's relatives, in one of the transmigration sites in Timika, were captured and brought to the ABRI post in Timika in November where they were interrogated and tortured, and finally six of them disappeared. Information from eyewitnesses said that the uprising in Tsinga from June to December 1994 and demonstration in Tembagapura on 25 December resulted in 37 people killed and/or disappeared of whom 22 were civilians and 15 were rebels. The sources stated, however, that since the ABRI troops are still searching in many places until today and detain indigenous people who are suspects, the figures of those killed or disappeared must be more than that.

Sources: Report from Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) in email conference, reg.newguinea; BBC report.

## Book Review

**CLAYOQUOT MASS TRIALS: Defending The Rainforest** Ron MacIsaac and Anne Champagne (eds), New Society Publishers, Gabriola Is., BC, and Philadelphia, 1994. 224 pp. \$19.95

Clayoquot Sound. Hands up all those out there who've heard a yarn or two about Clayoquot Sound? The protest of 1993 bearing witness to the destruction of one of the world's last temperate rainforests has, in many ways, become a legend. It resulted in the largest mass arrest, and subsequent mass trial, in Western history. It was a protest to protect an ancient forest that turned into a global scream for sanity.

As the press statement for the book says, "*Clayoquot Mass Trials* is of vital interest to environment organisations, unions, lawyers, the media and to citizens' groups everywhere, precisely because it reveals the courage of the people who risked so much by their civil disobedience."

In mid-1993, protests were held worldwide in support of the struggle at Clayoquot, while the peace camp in a weeping clearcut became a focal point of outcry against violence toward the eldest of Elders. In the foreword, Robert Kennedy Jr. cites the diverse range of folk who turned out on Vancouver Island, including "the Anglican priest who, hearing radio reports about the Clayoquot arrests, turned his car around in Alberta and drove back to the west coast, arriving in Clayoquot after 36 hours, just in time to be handcuffed with that morning's arrestees."

Chapters One and Two give an excellent overview of the global deforestation crisis. Taking portions from reports, newspapers and newsletters, the reading is stilted at times, but well worth it for the wealth of information. However, most of *Clayoquot Mass Trials* focusses on the trials that arose from the peace camp of '93. In the words of the protesters themselves, the story of this miscarriage of justice is eloquently told.

As is the case in Australia and the Asia-Pacific, the industry rhetoric, peddled by a compliant media, turned out to be nothing more than a giant 'sting'. "Tree farm (sic) management was supposed to guarantee forests, jobs and communities forever. Instead, BC has inherited a burgeoning leprosy of clearcuts... and tens of thousands of layoffs." (p 21, C.M.T.)

The book is filled not with photographs of wilderness or clearcuts, but with portraits of the individuals who went to trial. As you turn the pages, you are greeted by the genuinely smiling (!) faces of the protesters, who provide an uplifting accompaniment to the text of this emotion-stirring book.

In the same way that the excellent Sierra Club and Earth Island Press book, *Clearcut: the tragedy of industrial logging*, was a pictorial essay that forced acknowledgment of the ecological crisis, this book is a written testament to the inherent failures of the industrial and post-industrial ages. And if you have any doubts that the world's large multinational corporations have more power than governments, *Clayoquot Mass Trials* will convince you. - Garrick Martin.

For orders or information, call Chris or Judith Plant, at New Society Publishers, on tel: + 604 247 9737 or fax: + 247 7471, or write to P.O. Box 189, Gabriola Island, BC Canada VOR 1X0.

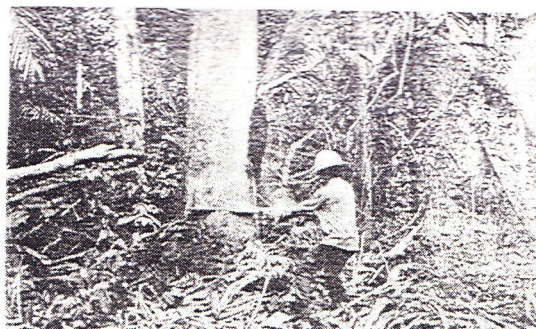


## **BRAZIL: Govt. Agency Rejects Cotingo Dam**

On January 18, the National Department of Waters and Electrical Energy (DNAEE) told the Electric Company of Roraima State that it will only approve the concession for building a dam on the Cotingo River if scheme is authorised by the national Congress. This was based on DNAEE's recognition that the hydroelectric dam would impact the lands of Indigenous peoples. This action frustrates the Roraima state government's intentions to ignore the existence of the Raposa Serra do Sol Indian Area, and to try to circumvent the constitutional requirement that such projects require approval by Congress following consultation with affected Indian communities. Following a meeting with the Indigenous Council of Roraima and the Pro-Indian Commission of Sao Paulo on January 23, 1995, DNAEE also decided to send a delegation to Raposa Serra do Sol to inspect the actions of the Roraima State Electric Company (CER). According to the DNAEE, the CER has no authorisation to carry out studies which would require the use of machinery which Indians say the company has brought onto their land.

On the legal front, on February 1, the Brazilian Attorney-General's office in Roraima brought a civil action against the CER and the Roraima state government. The action calls for a halt to CER's operations within the Indian area, as well as the removal of a military police encampment within the reserve. The suit also asks that the Indigenous area be declared off-limits to any hydro project, unless authorisation is given by the national Congress. On February 1, the Indigenous Council of Roraima and the Pro-Indian Commission of Sao Paulo met with the Minister of Environment and Water Resources, Gustavo Krausse, to request the intervention of Brazil's environmental agency, IBAMA, in the environmental licensing process for the Cotingo Dam. Minister Krausse expressed the view that the project would require Congressional authorisation if it was to proceed and he promised his ministry would follow the environmental licensing process.

For more information: Glenn Switkes, International Rivers Network, Berkeley California, USA tel: (510) 848-1155 or fax: (510) 848-1008 email: glenn@irn.org or: Comissao Pro-Indio de Sao Paulo, Brasil tel/fax: (+55-11) 864-1180 or (+55-11) 871-4612



## **BRAZIL: SUS 5.5 billion plan for Developing Amazon Basin**

The President of Brazil, Mr Cardoso, unveiled plans yesterday to pour \$5.5 billion into developing the Amazon Basin, while the Group of Seven (G7) countries will spend \$US1.6 billion to protect the vast rainforest.

Cardoso said Brazil was trying to promote sustainable development while providing infrastructure to accommodate a population that had boomed as gold miners and farmers moved to the region, often competing for land with indigenous people. He said the development effort would include completing the Trans Amazon Highway to the Pacific and tripling the area's petroleum production to 12,000 barrels a day. He did not say when the G7 funds would be disbursed for conservation efforts.

Nearly 17 million people in the last 35 years have settled in the basin of the 6,516 km Amazon River, building highways and homes as they push their way into waterways flanked by dense vegetation.

Environmentalists say these new population centres are poisoning streams and upsetting the delicate ecological balance of the Amazon Basin, which covers 4 million sq. km or 45% of Brazil's territory.

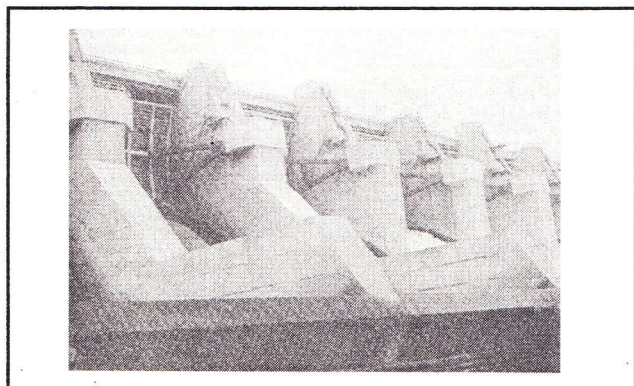
The G7 and financial institutions will put up \$137 million in the next five years for 13 scientific and technological projects with the dual aim of sustainable development and environmental protection.

Some projects are aimed at restoring areas that have been devastated and at providing environmental education programs. Topping the agenda will be marking boundaries for 58 indigenous reservations covering some 320,000 sq km where 39,000 inhabitants live, and making traditional native production compatible with improved living standards.

Four other reservations will be designated as "extraction reserves" where natural crops such as fruits and nuts would be harvested without felling trees or bulldozing the vegetation and the earth.

Source: Uncus Fernandez for AFP, 4 April 1995

*Note: Environmentalists and NGOs are likely to greet the new plans with alarm, given the destructive record of large scale development and environmental projects - editor*





## Ozone Layer Falls Without a Sound

Remember that question your teacher asked to get you thinking in grammar school, "If a tree falls in the forest and no one is there to hear it, does it make a sound?" Well, we can ask a similar question today, "If ozone depletion is severe, but it doesn't become a big story, does it really matter?" In one of the most comprehensive studies to date, the US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) has released data confirming prior reports that "For middle and high latitudes, ozone values were 10 to 20 percent lower than typical values observed during these months in 1979 and the early 1980s." NOAA also reported that "Over some high latitude regions such as Siberia, total ozone in 1994-95 had decreased by up to 35% from 1979 values."

Scientists confirm that ozone depletion levels are caused by industrial chemicals like chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and that these values are some of the lowest ever recorded over the Northern hemisphere. According to NOAA, "Over most of the United States, March 1995 values were lower than those for March 1979 by 15 to 20 percent." Dr. Edward DeFabo, research professor of Dermatology at George Washington University, thinks the report is a real cause for concern. "While factors like smog and clouds will affect the actual amount of UV-B striking the skin and eyes, with these levels of ozone depletion, the more southern latitudes like Florida and Arizona may have already seen increases in UV-B radiation, which is known to cause skin cancer, immune suppression and is linked to cataract formation.

If such conditions persist into the summer, the same effects will be intensified and may even be felt further north," Dr. DeFabo stated.

Dr. Orie Loucks, environmental scientist from Miami University in Ohio, is equally concerned. Based on damage seen on eastern white pine foliage from high UV-B levels in Ohio during the low ozone episode in 1993, further forest damage may be seen in 1995. Dr. Loucks is expanding his foliage monitoring network.

Source: Ozone News

## Australia: The Great Walk - Fraser Island

The Great Walk Network in north east New South Wales (NSW) and southern Queensland has just completed its third Great Walk, going from May 7 to 21.

The Great Walk Network is a loose conglomeration of forest activists and social change workers who like to go walking. The collective strives not only to "get out in it" but to focus on a particular topic for each walk. The first two were along the Great Escarpment in northern NSW, with the group passing through a beautiful and diverse range of forests, mountains and rivers and stopping in at a few forest blockades along the way as part of the widespread struggle to end the logging of Australia's old growth forests.

The tradition started in Western Australia, where they have now been holding four or so walks each year, for several



years. The NSW collective started last year, and has attempted to keep the numbers of walkers low, so as to improve group dynamics, and allow everyone to squeeze their bodies around the fire at night!

For the third Great Walk, 48 people walked around Fraser Island's remarkable World Heritage-listed forests, lakes, and ocean beaches. Fraser Is. is the largest sand island in the world, and there are diverse and powerfully beautiful forests growing on this sandy paradise. From the beach side scrub or mangrove, through rainforest creeks, to giant Brush Box and Satinay old growth. Mosses, palms, mushrooms all colours of the rainbow, the loping dingoes - howling and making off with the human's gear, creeks so clear you mistake them for dry sand beds, lakes the colour of tea, or deep green, or crystal clear with some of the purest water you'll find in the world.

With plenty of time for swims, jamming around the fire, or standing in awe in a hollow tree elder, the great-walkers are some of the happiest people you'll find around. With a focus to BE in it, PRAISE it, and STRUGGLE for its right to life, this family of walkers are taking affirmative action to pay respect to our natural world and re-charge themselves after many full-on months in the life of Australian forest protest. With Fraser having a colourful history of its own, it was the perfect place to go to do this; successful blockades on the island several years ago stopped all logging on Fraser Is.

Not so fortunate as the forests were the Badtjala people, the original inhabitants of this island paradise. However, despite years of colonial genocide on the Badtjala people, there is still a strong Murri [Aboriginal] presence on the island, and with the building of the Thoorgine Cultural Centre, this looks set to grow stronger. The walkers visited the centre with the intention of helping to create stronger links between the green movement and the aboriginal community. It is important that the descendants of the colonisers connect with the First People, as there is so much to learn and to give back.

As the Great Walk Network grows stronger with each walk, the tradition looks well set to continue, so watch out all you self consuming, "development" junkies, because a band of fully recharged greenies has just returned from Fraser Island, and they may be coming to a town near you.... (Big thanks to Jarrah and Mick, and the other organisers, and lenders of 4WD's and gear.)

LESS CONSUMPTION, MORE JOY!!

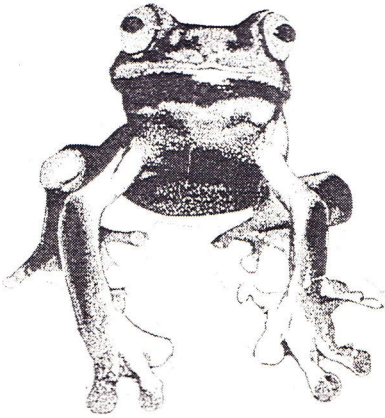
— Garrick Martin, Rainforest Information Centre, Lismore.



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## The Death of Frogs

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According to Australia's Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), there is growing evidence that a virus, (*iridovirus*, possibly a species of *Ranavirus*) may be the reason for the worldwide collapse in populations of montane stream-dwelling frogs. At least 14 species of Australian rainforest frogs have been wiped out or decimated in the past 15 years. Similar declines have been reported on four other continents.

Dr Laurance of CSIRO's Tropical Rainforest Centre believes that this virus can decimate a frog population in only a few weeks. "The urgent need is to start experimental work to test the susceptibility under varying environmental conditions" and that "we also need to continue the field surveys and closely examine specimens of sick frogs collected from populations which have since disappeared. Once you have worked out that this or whatever other virus is responsible, you can develop management strategies to reduce the impact". These strategies could involve stricter quarantine of areas of surviving frogs and the repopulation of streams from other areas with frogs which are not affected by the virus.

Dr Laurance suspects that the virus may have been brought from overseas with ornamental fish and may be spread from stream to stream by aquatic insects.

The decline has been identified as an 'extinction wave', spreading from south to north Queensland during the past 15 years. The last known populations of several frog species disappeared from the Big Tableland near Cooktown late 1993 or early 1994.

The new theory represents a major turnaround in possible explanations for the worldwide decline of frogs. Drought, acid rain, ozone depletion, salination, pesticide residues, predation by feral pigs and climate change have all variously been blamed but so far no conclusive evidence has been produced.

Source: Biolinks - Newsletter on Biological Diversity Conservation Actions, March 1995, Australian Dept. of Environment, Sports and Territories.

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## Putting a radical spring in your step

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A latex scientist has developed revolutionary footwear for forest workers which, she claims, reduces crust "vibe trauma".

Prof. Avril Puncinello, funded by Equi-Nox Corporation, has designed inflatable rubber over-soles, which are attached to shoes or boots using industrial Velcro strips. The oversoles -- trademarked as "Plumps" -- have entered production following early complications with erratic bounce; it is understood three testers suffered minor whiplash injuries.

"The Plumps are ideal for use in delicate old-growth forests, or relatively undisturbed tropical rainforest, where even the slightest vibration can affect vegetative transpiration," claimed Prof. Puncinello.

She added that the hard-wearing Plumps, which are inflated to 80 psi using a converted Sparklets syphon, allowed wearers to move silently through even tinder-dry undergrowth.

The radical footwear is allegedly being bought in bulk by environmental organisations, though Professor Puncinello insisted that "Plumps were not conceived to assist fancy footwork or rapid directional changes."

Source: Timber Trades Journal 1 April 1995

Note: The Rainforest Information Centre asks that would-be purchasers do not ask for the Centre's help in locating supplies of Plumps.



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## SOLOMON IS.: Anti-logging protesters detained on Pavuvu Island

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Honiara, April 19 - Police and defence force personnel have detained 56 islanders carrying knives and axes who were on their way to try and stop a Malaysian company from stripping their island of timber.

The force, armed with semi-automatic rifles, was sent to Pavuvu Island over Easter to protect Marvin Brothers Limited, which was given the right to take 895,000 cubic metres of Pavuvu Island's timber, worth 400 million Solomons dollars (\$A180 million), the Solomon Is. Broadcasting Corporation (SIBC) reported. Pavuvu, 12,427 hectares in area, is the largest island in the Russell Is. group. Under the scheme, the island, now densely covered in forest, would be stripped, but the government has said Marvin would be required to build new villages, complete with water, roads and schools for residents. No shots were fired during the incident but a police spokesman told SIBC the situation remained tense on Pavuvu. A spokesman for the Pavuvu Islanders, Augustine Rose, said he understood there were 10 police and five soldiers on Pavuvu. Rose said there had already been incidents of isolated violence with islanders fighting loggers.



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## STH PACIFIC: Moves to Combat Bio-Piracy as US Patents Indigenous Blood Cells

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At a five-day meeting sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme, indigenous groups from all over the Pacific said they are prepared to share their traditional knowledge and natural resources, but they must be the ones to determine the manner in which this is done. The meeting was held in Suva in April and was organised by the PCRC (Pacific Concerns Resource Centre). The Indigenous groups are drafting a treaty to make the South Pacific a life-form patent-free zone and prevent exploitation by bio-prospectors. 'We are going to draft a treaty first and then approach governments [in the South Pacific] for support,' said Lopeti Senituli, the director of the PCRC in Suva.

The Suva meeting unanimously urged indigenous peoples not to cooperate with bio-prospectors until appropriate protection mechanisms were in place and called for a 'moratorium on bio-prospecting in the Pacific'. Lopeti Senituli claimed that some visitors pose as eco-tourists while bio-prospecting for universities or pharmaceutical companies.

Indigenous knowledge of medicinal value and properties of plants and micro-organisms is now earning pharmaceutical and chemical companies billions of dollars. According to the Rural Advancement Foundation International (RAFI), about 75% of all plant-derived prescription drugs were discovered through their previous medicinal use by indigenous peoples. The annual world market value for these plant-derived medicines was about \$43 billion in 1990.

RAFI pointed out that a woman healer in Samoa recently showed a Western botanist a plant she uses to treat viral illnesses. A valuable chemical now being extracted from the plant in the United States may protect immune cells from the AIDS virus.

Cell lines taken from donors in the Solomon Is. and Papua New Guinea are now awaiting a patent application at the American Type Culture Collection in Washington. A patent filed by researchers in the US lays claim to the human T-cell line of a Papua New Guinean, taken from blood samples obtained in 1989 in Madang province. This cell line could be of use for the treatment of leukemia and chronic neurologic diseases. The U.S. Department of Commerce has lodged a patent claim for the human T-cell line of a 40-year-old woman from Marovo Lagoon in the Western province, PNG, and a 58-year-old man from Guadalcanal province of the Solomon Is.

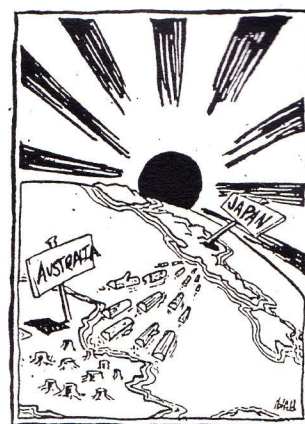
RAFI points out that the Biodiversity Convention requires signatory states to recognise the ownership of genetic material by countries or companies. However, material collected before the Convention came into force is regarded as the property of the country that now possesses it. Thus, the people of the Solomon Is. and PNG will have to pay for medical products derived from their own blood samples.

Senituli said that the extraction of traditional handicrafts and artefacts from the Pacific communities was also a cause for concern.

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## AUSTRALIA: Support for Japanese Protests against Tropical Timber Use

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Rainforest activists around Australia protested Japan's role in the destruction of the world's forests on Friday (21st April). The actions supported efforts by Japanese groups in the leadup to Earth Day (April 22nd) aiming to halt the destruction of world's forests by Japan's massive consumption of timber. In Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne activists targeted Japanese Consulates with banners, letter writing stands and street theatre from 10:00am. Meetings were also held with Japanese Consular officials.

Japan, with only 2% of the world's population consumes 30% of the world's tropical timber. Over 90% of Australia's export woodchips go to Japan. Uncontrolled logging is one of the primary causes of global forest destruction. The Food and Agriculture Organisation estimates an average of 15.4 million ha. of tropical forest was lost annually between 1981 and 1990.

Japanese groups have been urging local governments to call for a halt to the use of tropical timber in public projects, as well as organising events, petition drives, letter writing campaigns and other actions. Their campaign also calls for a switch to recycled paper products by councils in Japan, in an attempt to help protect Australian old growth forests.

Commercial logging to meet Japanese demand is ravaging the forests of Sarawak (Malaysia), Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Is. and the temperate and boreal forests in North America, Siberia and Oceania. It is estimated that at least 880,000 cubic metres of timber will be required for the reconstruction of buildings destroyed by the recent earthquake in Brisbane's sister city, Kobe.

Environmentalists want Brisbane to encourage Kobe to reduce the impact of this reconstruction by banning the use of unsustainable supplies of tropical timbers in public works - a policy which the Brisbane City Council already has in place.

In Japan, groups around the country made demands to their local governments on reductions of consumption tropical timber in an action co-ordinated by the Sarawak Campaign Committee. There was also a call made to the government of Japan by over 20 groups. Public symposiums were held and a photographic display on Sarawak was distributed to public libraries in Japan.



# Action Pages



## BRAZIL:

# MASSIVE ATTACK ON INDIGENOUS LAND RIGHTS

*The Brazilian Government is contemplating moves which will reduce the rights of Indigenous people to their land and enable invaders of their lands to claim ownership. An appeal for international protests against the moves is being circulated by COMIN, a Brazilian indigenous organization.*

The Rights of Indigenous Peoples, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution of 1988 in Decree 22, would be abridged by a proposed decree allowing increased judicial appeals for invaders of indigenous lands. These lands have long been known to belong to indigenous peoples; and this legal ploy is aimed at halting, or greatly reducing the extent of, a more rigorous legal demarcation of indigenous territory. Amazingly, this new appeals process is to be enacted retroactively, threatening the size and/or existence of 189 indigenous territories that have already been demarcated in Brazil.

Parliamentary representatives from the Amazon want to see the drastic decrease of indigenous territories (TIs), especially of the Yanomami, and the prohibition of TI demarcation along the borders. They are lobbying strongly with the government.

### What the Changes Would Mean:

Through Secretary of Justice, Nelson Jobim, the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) is willing to introduce, by means of Decree, the following alterations to Decree 22:

1. Anyone interested in TI (squatters, farmers, landowners, lumberyard owners, miners, state and municipal governments), will have 90 days in order to file any complaints and/or contest the demarcation of a TI. In order to file such complaints, they will have to present FUNAI (the official body responsible for Indigenous Affairs), with evidence to support their claim to such land, or to prove that such land should not be considered Indigenous Territory.

2. FUNAI will then analyze these submissions and turn the process over to the Secretary of Justice, who will then decide whether the land will stay as it is, if it will be reduced in size, or if the given portion of land is in fact not a TI; in such case it will not be demarcated.

3. The worst, however, will be that the government wants



to extend this procedure to all 189 existing TIs, which have already been demarcated and approved by the President of Brazil. The only TIs which will not be revised are those which have already been notarized officially at the Service for patrimony of the Union.

This will create a real chaos and will allow any TI, even those which have been demarcated long ago, to be decreased in size. All that is needed for this to happen would be for squatters and invaders to win over Secretary Jobim. This will not be difficult, since this is precisely what these new amendments/counter decrees are meant to make possible. The government and the invaders want, and will now guarantee, a legal way of diminishing legal Indian Territory. These are laws that favor the powerful and go against the rights of the Indigenous Peoples.

### Legal Challenge to Decree 22

What worsens the situation even further is the fact that the Supreme Court of Justice (STF) is ruling on whether Decree 22 is constitutional or not, based on the argument that TI invaders have not had the right to a Counter Decree, and that they have lost "their goods/properties" without a right to appeal, all of which is likewise guaranteed by the Federal Constitution of 1988, Article 5, LIV and LV.



# Action Pages

*BRAZIL: Attack on Indigenous Land Rights, Cont'd*

## What You Can Do

Please support the maintenance of Decree 22/91, by mailing letters, fax, etc., to the addresses below or to your nearest Brazilian embassy or consulate.

It is necessary that we all urgently write to the government of FHC and to the Secretary of Justice, requiring the maintenance of Dec. 22 so that the demarcation of TIs and the expulsion of land invaders resume immediately.

**Use the sample letters below as the basis for your letters.** The first is to the Supreme Court, protesting against the challenge to the validity of Decree 22. The second is to the President and the Minister for Justice, protesting against the proposed changes to Decree 22.

SUPREMO TRIBUNAL FEDERAL Ministro Sepulveda Pertence Praça dos Tres Poderes  
BRASILIA - DF - BRAZIL  
FAX 0055 61 2264797

Dear Secretary,

The original rights of Indigenous Peoples to their lands not only were destroyed and deferred by the violence of invasions and property spoliation. They were also imposed by immoral laws and court decisions that rather favor the invaders' interests.

The decision to rule Decree 22/91 to be unconstitutional will certainly be one among many such acts of violence which history records against Indigenous peoples in Brazil. To pass a Counter Decree (Contraditorio) in the administrative proceedings of Indigenous land demarcation is - besides being an unconstitutional - an act of delay and immorality, which will give more rights to secular invaders and destroyers of Indigenous lands and peoples.

In addition, it is worth noting that the Brazilian Nation State was unable to meet, twice already, the pre-established dates of Indigenous land demarcation as foreseen by Law 6.001/73 and by the Federal Constitution of 1988. This failure on the part of the government only signals its alignment and connivance with such acts of destruction.

We hereby appeal to this Court for the restoration of such Right, in the ruling for the maintenance of Decree 22/91 and for determining that the Executive power may meet its obligations in guaranteeing the Indigenous Rights.

Yours sincerely. . .

Exmo. Sr. Presidente da Republica: Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Palacio do Planalto, BRASILIA - DF - BRAZIL FAX +55 61 226 7566  
Exmo. Sr. Ministro da Justica: Nelson Jobim, Esplanada dos Ministerios BRASILIA - DF - BRAZIL FAX +55 61 224 2448

Mr. President! Secretary of Justice!

We hereby plead your Excellency to take urgent and concrete measures to guarantee the constitutional rights of the Indigenous Communities in Brazil.

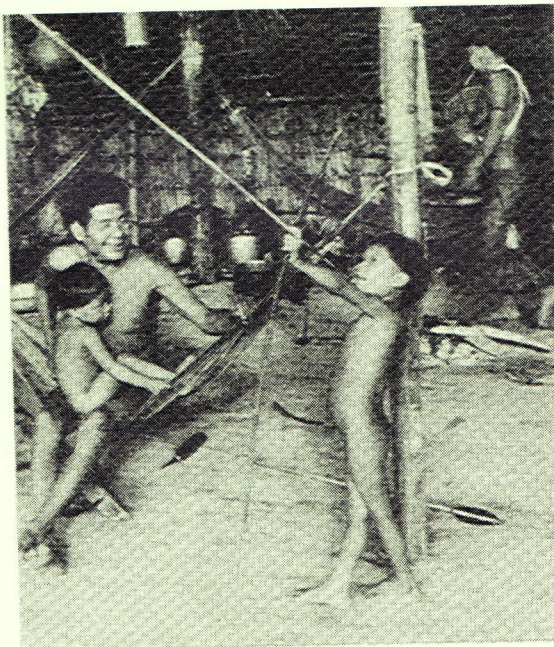
In spite of an official plan of land demarcation and the expulsion of land invaders, nothing in this respect has been done up to the moment.

On the contrary, closely following the political agenda in regards to Indigenous Affairs, we have noticed that your government is rather hindering the fulfillment of such rights and decrees. The alteration of Decree 22/91 will represent a serious obstruction to the demarcation of Indigenous land.

Once again it is noticeable that what is really being pursued is the right of the land invaders, squatters, farmers, miners as well as municipal and state governments, and lumberyard owners. The insertion of a Counter Decree in the administrative process of land demarcation, besides being unconstitutional, is also an immoral and obstructive act, which will give further rights to invaders and destroyers of the lands that rightfully belong to the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil. This will entail horrendous consequences and stain the image of Brazil before the International Community.

It is therefore imperative that Decree 22/91 be followed as has been established by this government, without allowing any alterations, as the only possible way to guarantee the rights of the Indians to their lands, in order to cease the aggression to which these Indigenous Communities are still being submitted.

Source: COMIN, a Brazilian indigenous organization.





## ECUADOR: Texaco Deal Slammed

On May 9, as activists from Ecuador and the United States denounced to 600 Texaco shareholders the company's proposed remediation settlement with the Ecuadorian government as criminally insufficient, Ecuadorian officials in Quito went forward and signed the agreement. This settlement, which outlines Texaco's measures to restore environmental damages caused by its 26 years in the Ecuadorian Amazon, has been widely rejected by local indigenous, farmer and environmental groups, who charge that it addresses only a small portion of Texaco's extensive impacts in the region.

In recent days, umbrella citizen groups, such as the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of the Ecuadorian Amazon (CONFENIAE) and Amazon Defense Front have published letters in Ecuador's major newspapers, denouncing the settlement terms. They charge that Texaco and the Ecuadorian government, who worked as an oil consortium until 1992, have failed to include in the settlement the concerns of the very populations affected by the oil operations. As a result, local leaders explain, the planned clean-up will not effectively remedy the negative impacts of Texaco's operations, which include deforestation of more than two million acres of rainforest, displacement of indigenous communities, and extensive water pollution which has created a regional health crisis.

While the details of the settlement have not been completely disclosed, leaders confirm that only some oil areas are considered under the agreement. Texaco's agreement does not include the majority of the wells and waste pits in the company's former concession area.

Ecuadorian indigenous and environmental leaders have made a strong statement to Texaco and the government, making known that this "partial solution" is unacceptable, and that the international fight to hold Texaco fully responsible for the damages will continue. "This is not a solution," explains Paulina Garzon of Quito-based Accion Ecologica. "This is Texaco trying to quickly wash its hands of the destruction it caused during over a quarter of a century. The Ecuadorian people will not stand for it."

Some thirty human rights and environmental organizations of the Washington-based Coalition in Support of Amazonian Peoples and Their Environment have also denounced the settlement, pledging to continue their work with the Ecuadorian organizations in their fight against Texaco.

### What You Can Do

Write to Texaco and the Ecuadorian Government, protesting the inadequacy of their agreement and pledging your support for the indigenous groups that are fighting to make Texaco accountable.

President Sixto Duran Ballen, Casa Presidencial, Garcia Moreno 1043, Quito, Ecuador

Alfred C. de Crane Jr., Chairman and CEO Texaco, Inc. 2000 Westchester Ave. White Plains, NY 10650, USA.



## BRAZIL: Black Amazon Community Fights for Land Rights

The community of Boa Vista, Para, is a *quilombo*, comprised of descendants of escaped slaves who live along the Trombetas River in the northern Amazon region of Brazil. They now are close to achieving legalization of their traditional land rights. If successful, Boa Vista would be the first community achieving such recognition since the legal opportunity was presented in the new Brazilian constitution.

Nearly 200 years ago, their ancestors fled from cattle ranches and cacao plantations in the Amazon and climbed the Trombetas River. They went further and further into the Amazon, until they settled in areas which, at that time, were 45 days by boat from the nearest settlements.

The legal demarcation of the area is considered urgent, given pressures on the community from a multinational mining operation, Mineracao Rio do Norte (Alcoa, Reynolds, Norsk Hydro), nearby. Despite the presence of aluminum processing facilities in Porto Trombetas, Boa Vista has no electricity.

Now, plans are being carried out for construction of a hydroelectric dam on the Trombetas River. Boa Vista has already lost many of its Afro-Amazonian cultural traditions, but the demarcation would be an important precedent for dozens of other *quilombos* throughout Brazil. A campaign is now underway to achieve these demarcations in observation of the 300th anniversary of Zumbi de Palmares, who led slave uprisings in colonial Brazil. The legal process is now before the Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), which is considering Boa Vista's petition for demarcation of a 798 ha. area for 100 families.



# Action Pages

**BRAZIL: Traditional Black Amazon Community Fights for Land Rights (continued):**

## What You Can Do

This request is being made on behalf of ARQMO, -- the Association of Communities Descended from Quilombos in Oriximina Municipality, which represents 21 quilombo communities, with a total population of 6,500 people along the Trombetas, Cumina, Erepecuru and Acapu rivers.

Please write letters of support to:

Presidente Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Palacio do Planalto 70.159-970, Brasilia DF, Brazil. fax: +55-61-226-7566

and

Brazilio de Araujo Neto, Presidente do INCRA, SBN-Palacio do Desenvolvimento 70.057, Brasilia DF, Brazil. fax: +55-61-226-3855

Please send a copy to:

ARQMO Caixa Postal 52 68.270 Oriximina, PA, Brazil

### **SAMPLE LETTER:**

Dear Sir:

We are writing in support of the petition of the quilombo community of Boa Vista, Para for title to their traditional lands on the Trombetas River.

We understand that such titling would be in agreement with Article 68 of the Brazilian Constitution, and could guarantee the survival of this community and dozens of other quilombos throughout Brazil.

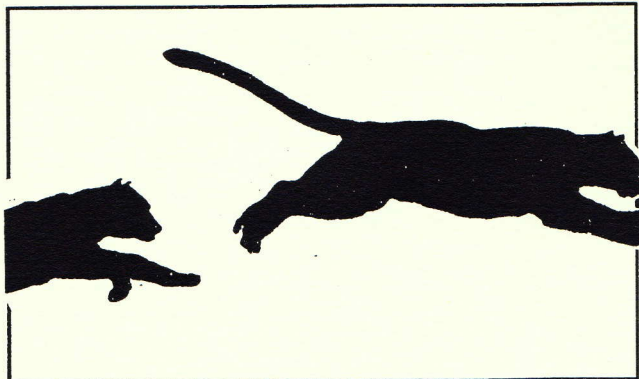
These communities serve as models for sustainable use of natural resources. The demarcation of their lands would help demonstrate the Brazilian government's commitment to equal rights for minorities and to sustainable development in the Amazon region.

Respectfully yours . . .

For more information contact:

Lucia Andrade, Comissao Pro-Indio de Sao Paulo tel/fax: +55-11-864-1180

or Glenn Switkes, International Rivers Network, San Francisco tel: 415-243-4146 fax: 415-243-0661 email: glenirn@igc.apc.org



## **CANADA: Scientists Join Call for End to Clayoquot Clearcuts**



On Monday, 29 May, 1995, the international coalition of groups working to save Clayoquot Sound celebrated the recommendations of the Scientific Panel which called for an end to the highly controversial clearcutting of Clayoquot. Now we need your help to get these recommendations implemented. We have until June 30 to make our voices heard by writing to the Premier of British Columbia (a sample letter is attached below).

The best minds in the field have agreed: the scientists have now added their voice to the call from environmentalists, First Nations, and the general public - the B.C. government must stop MacMillan Bloedel's and Interfor's clearcutting in Clayoquot. Since the April 13, 1993 decision by the B.C. government to allow widespread clearcutting in one of the last large areas of ancient temperate rainforest in the world, Clayoquot Sound has been at the center of international scrutiny and protest. In order to head off the protests, which began in Europe and more recently spread to the U.S., the government set up an independent Scientific Panel comprised of "blue-ribbon" scientists and First Nations representatives.

### **Highlights from the Scientific Panel's report include:-**

- \* Reserves (no logging) must be designated to protect hydrospheric (river-drainage) ecosystems, unstable slopes, endangered and threatened species, cultural, scenic and recreational values. Reserves must represent all ecosystems and ensure linkages among other planning areas.

- \* Co-management of Clayoquot must be based on equal partnership between the Nuu-chah-nulth and the Province of British Columbia.

- \* Standards for forest practice must incorporate traditional ecological knowledge. Conventional silvicultural systems in Clayoquot Sound must be replaced with a "variable-retention silviculture system" (i.e. - eliminate clearcutting!!). The purpose of this system is to preserve, in managed stands, far more of the characteristics of natural forests.

- \* Limit the area cut in any watershed larger than 1200 ha.



in total area to no more than 5% of the watershed area within a five-year period, with no further harvesting in watersheds already 20% harvested in the last 10 years.

\* In cutting units with significant values for resources other than timber (e.g. visual, cultural ecological), retain at least 70% of the forest in relatively uniform distribution.

\* Phase in the variable-retention silvicultural system in Clayoquot Sound over a five-year period.

\* Roads and landings - to be determined on a watershed level, but no more than 5% of landbase.

The Scientific Panel's vision stresses ecological relationships before development objectives, while recognizing that environmental protection and economic development are mutually dependent. It also details just how important the international pressure has been. "Canada is extremely sensitive to international actions such as consumer boycotts, "green consumerism", or "eco-labelling" of wood products. Forces from within and outside the country are working to ensure that Canadian forests - and their many values - are sustained." That's us they're talking about, so let's keep the pressure on and save Clayoquot Sound.

### **What You Can Do**

Sample Draft Letter to the BC Premier:

The Honorable Michael Harcourt Premier of British Columbia Parliament Buildings Victoria, B.C. V8V 1X4 Fax: (604) 387-0087

Dear Premier Harcourt,

I am writing to commend you for the integrity and foresight you have displayed in establishing the Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel and in inviting scientists of such caliber to participate in shaping the future of forestry in Clayoquot Sound.

Along with my thanks, I urge you to immediately implement the complete recommendations of the Panel as the minimum acceptable standards for Clayoquot Sound. The final reports have been eagerly awaited around the world, where Clayoquot Sound has become a major environmental issue. My concern over Clayoquot Sound will not be satisfied until truly cutting-edge forestry has been implemented on the ground, including the protection of large reserves in the form of the intact watersheds, and there is full participation by the Nuuchah-nulth peoples in co-managing their traditional territories. As you know the international environmental and business communities have eagerly awaited this report.

I respectfully request that your government follow the course it has embarked upon with the establishment of this panel and to initiate a series of periodic progress evaluations by the panel members. I further urge you to avoid future conflict over Clayoquot Sound and to waste no time in fully accepting the Panel's recommendations and ensuring a short implementation period.

Sincerely . . .

cc: Clayoquot Sound Central Region Board members - FAX: (604) 725-3179

## **AUSTRALIA: Road Will Degrade Country's Largest Remaining Rainforest**



The Tarkine, Australia's largest remaining tract of rainforest wilderness, is currently under threat from the Tasmanian Government's plans to build a 4wd-only road through this pristine area. Situated in north west Tasmania, the Tarkine is made up of some 390,000 hectares including 70,000 hectares of untouched temperate rainforest. It provides homes to the Wedgetailed Eagle and white Goshawk as well as the world's largest freshwater crayfish. Huon pines over 2,000 years old, as well as individual buried logs dating back 12,000 years are also contained in this area. In addition to this, the Tarkine holds significant Aboriginal cultural heritage sites.

The Tarkine has received international recognition for these and other unique qualities through the World Conservation Union, the technical assessor for World Heritage nominations, which has now twice called for Australia to nominate the area - an action previously unheard of.

Despite all of this, the Tasmanian Government has responded by constructing a road right through the centre of this valuable area. That this will lead to further destruction seems inevitable. The road will introduce threats from bushfire, disease, pests and weeds into this pristine wilderness. The road will also provide access for logging trucks which serve Australia's largest woodchip mill on the edges of the Tarkine. There have been 12 protest actions in the Tarkine since the 15th of February and 45 arrests have been made. Unionists, greens and Aboriginal activists have all joined in order to halt the road, which has already cost over \$5 million and is expected to require a further \$35 million of taxpayers money.

### **What You Can Do**

Please write to:

The Hon. Prime Minister, Paul Keating c/- Parliament House Canberra 2600, Australia. or

The Minister for the Environment, John Faulkner, at the same address.

Or phone:

Prime Minister Paul Keating's Office Ph. (06) 2777 700

1. Demand that the Commonwealth Government uses its World Heritage powers to stop construction of the road and to prevent further destructive activity, upon starting an official inquiry into the regions's World Heritage values.

2. Tell them that our rare and diminishing wilderness areas deserve protection from logging, inappropriate development and all forms of destruction, this protection can only be achieved by World Heritage Listing.



# Action Pages

## COLOMBIA:

### Gold Mining vs. Rainforest & People

The Pacific Coast region of Colombia --situated between the westernmost chain of the Andes and the Pacific Ocean, stretching between Panama and Ecuador -- is one of most important repositories of biological diversity in the world. Destruction of this valuable rainforest ecosystem --inhabited mostly by black and indigenous communities-- has increased rapidly in recent years, particularly by the influx of capital in activities such as gold mining, african palm oil plantations, and shrimp cultivation. The government has also launched an ambitious development plan ("sustainable", of course!) for the region, with international funding, which is opposed by local activists and organizations. A much smaller Biodiversity Conservation project has also been initiated under the sponsorship of the World Bank's Global Environment Facility (GEF).

One reason for concern is the increase during the last few months in the number of industrial gold mining operations. In the southern part of the region, these operations are funded by capitalist groups from Cali; there is strong indication that Cali Cartel money is involved as well. A recent report produced by the Department of National Planning of Colombia estimates that there are about 360 operations of this sort in the entire region, 90% of which do not have the required governmental permit, and are thus illegal. The Network of Organization of Black Communities of the Pacific (*Proceso de Comunidades Negras, PCN*), estimates that up to 80,000 ha. are being destroyed per year by industrial gold mining. Heavy equipment removes about 600,000 cu. meters of soil in each site, destroying about 226 ha. each year. This contributes to the loss of biological diversity and the destruction of rainforests which have already been compromised by timber extraction. The mining adds to the devastation of rivers through sedimentation and mercury contamination, affecting aquatic life and even the course of the rivers; and it violates the rights of the black and indigenous communities to control their own territories, leading to violence, increased economic hardship, displacement, and human rights abuses.

In 1993, the Colombian government approved a law (Ley 70) granting collective ownership rights to the black communities over the territories they have customarily occupied for the last two to three-hundred years. It is expected that about 600,000 ha. will be handed over to the local communities over the next four years. Ley 70 considers the suspension of all other land concessions and aims at putting an end to the



granting of licenses for mining operations but these activities continue to take place throughout the region, often times with the tacit approval of the authorities in charge of monitoring the use of natural resources.

Since 1993, the organizations of black communities have asked the government to stop all illegal mining activities, but industrial mining is on the increase and forceis being used to dissuade local peoples from protesting.

### What You Can Do

The Network of Organizations of Black Communities (PCN) is launching an international campaign as one of the primary means to pressure the government to intervene. The PCN asks of all of those interested in environmental, indigenous, and human rights issues to write to the following institutions expressing their concern about this serious situation, in particular the destruction caused by gold mining, and to voice their support for the demands being made by the local communities:

Cecilia Lopez, Ministerio del Medio Ambiente, Edificio Avianca, Calle 16 No. 6-66, Bogotá, Colombia. Fax: (57-1) 336-3984

Jorge E. Cock, Ministerio de Minas y Energía, Avda. El Dorado, CAN, Bogotá, Colombia. Fax: (57-1) 222-3651

Sr. Ernesto Samper, Presidente de la Republica, Carrera 8 No. 7-26, Bogotá Colombia. Fax: (57-1) 286-7434 286-6842

If possible, send copies and messages of solidarity to:  
Organizaci"n de Comunidades Negras de Buenaventura (OCN),  
c/o Fundaci"n Habla/Scribe Calle 9B No. 20-28 Cali, Colombia Fax: (57-2) 558-3976.

The English version of this communique prepared by Arturo Escobar, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003, in conjunction with the OCN of Buenaventura.

E-mail: aescobar@anthro.umass.edu. Fax: (413) 545-9494.



## ECUADOR: Moves to save last intact montane cloud forest need support

### **Conservationists seek support for land purchase, applied research on genetic forest resources, alternative use of forest and agroforestry programmes.**

Ecuadorian environmentalists have found a way to protect a rainforest while providing local people with economically viable land use.

Working in the Cerro Golondrinas region (the country's last intact rainforest that stretches from mountain tops to nearly sea level), they're applying sustainable agriculture techniques and agroforestry--introducing alley cropping, a technique in which rows of trees alternated with crops. The trees are planted along contours of the mountain slopes to counteract runoff erosion whilst providing local peasant farmers an economic alternative to cattle raising (the rain forest is slashed and burnt for grazing).

The Cerro Golondrinas Cloudforest Conservation project was initiated by Ecuadorian environmentalist Eliza Manteca in conjunction with the Centro Productivo y Educativo Agroforestal (CPEA). An alliance has been forged with FUNDEAL (Foundation for Alternative Development). Together the project seeks international support to purchase and manage 25,000 ha. of forest within five years.

Time is not on their side. The construction of a new road is making the mountainous area easily accessible, leading to intensified pressure from timber companies and commercial cattle farms, which are buying land from small farmers.

The Cerro Golondrinas group has an immediate opportunity to purchase 600 ha. adjoining the 1400 ha. it has already bought, and is seeking US\$ 40,000 to purchase the land and have it declared a "protected forest". Unfortunately, there is another interested party, a cattle farmer who intends to clear the land immediately. Says Manteca, "The rain forests of the Cerro Golondrinas region contain one of the richest concentrations of endemic species on Earth. The hillsides are steep; if we don't act immediately, they are in danger of disappearing forever."

According to Brad Boyle of Missouri Botanical Garden "Cerro Golondrinas may well be the only region (in northwest South America) where there still remains an area of undisturbed montane forest large enough to ensure the survival of several globally threatened species of birds." The project coordinator Piet Sabbe believes the success of the project lies in educating the local farmers in agroforestry and forest farming. A number of farmers have already completed a seminar in nursery techniques for indigenous trees and some have been trained as extensionists. "Families living here survive by cutting down timber and raising cattle. We aim to change the local inhabitants' source of income from destruc-



tion of the rainforest to preservation of them."

Bernardo Beate, a geologist assisting the project, explains what happens when the land is cleared for cattle or timber harvest: "This humus-rich soil is readily removed by landslides and running water on deforested areas, leaving bare bedrock behind. Local farmers could be swayed by the lure of easy money into helping the companies turn their own backyards into wasteland."

### **What You Can Do**

The organisation is seeking support from environmentalists in Europe and elsewhere for the further development of educational programmes, the setting up of tree nurseries and the plantation of trees on agroforestry sites, research on the management of genetic resources and further purchase of forest. Says Eliza Manteca, "This project needs outside support if it going to succeed. The funding we receive will determine how much of this rainforest can be saved."

In addition to funding, the organisers are seeking researchers and/or volunteers with experience in forestry/agroforestry, permaculture, nursery development, park management and administration, and good knowledge of Spanish.

The project also operates hikes through the region as a tourist attraction and alternative source of income for local inhabitants. The hikes are three to four days long, on foot or on horseback, overnighting in small communities. Detailed description of the different activities and projects and a list of studies to be conducted in the Cerro Golondrinas area are available on request.

For more information contact:

FUNDEAL Cerro Golondrinas Cloudforest Conservation Project, Attn. Piet Sabbe, Calle Isabel La Católica 1559 Quito - Ecuador  
Golondrinas Cloud Forest Conservation Project European Contacts:  
Leida Buglass (Spanish/English/German) [negrita@nodo50.gn.apc.org](mailto:negrita@nodo50.gn.apc.org)



# Action Pages

## SARAWAK: Penan Struggle On

Against incredible odds, the struggle by the Penan to protect their forest and their rights continues. Malaysian authorities and logging company thugs have not ceased their harassment and threats to those who will not give up their struggle for justice.

The latest news comes from the upper Baram region where a number of villages refuse to accept the intrusion of the logging companies. We have just received word that on the 18th April, 1995, 20 Penan went to the logging camp to meet with the camp manager and workers to raise issues of concern with them. With no warning, 5 Police Field Force (PFF) police armed with M16 rifles pointed their guns at the Penan and told them that if they ever try to disrupt logging operations, or construct blockades again, they will be shot. The PFF also told the Penan that their blowpipes are no match for the modern weapons in a battle and urged the Penan to let the logging company proceed without interruptions. The PFF were very rude with the Penan and as a result the Penan could not meet the management of the logging camp. They attempted to meet the company again on the 28th April 1995.

Unimas, a sub-contractor for the concession holder, Samling Timber Co., is currently heavily logging the forest in the Baram area, where many Penan have been living a subsistence lifestyle and have customary rights to the land.

They blockaded the logging roads into their area until their barricades were brutally broken down by authorities and timber company personnel on September 28th, 1993. An eyewitness reported that on that day, about 1000 riot police, soldiers and forestry officials and logging workers came to the blockades. After the arrest of the eleven men, the eyewitness said that police and soldiers hurled tear gas at the people, rendering them powerless. The observer said that bulldozers and chainsaws were then used to dismantle the blockade and to tear down the dwellings in the area. Rice padi fields were also bulldozed, he added. According to the eyewitness, police and soldiers kicked and punched the protesters, injuring 203 of them. Blockaders were given no warning prior to the crack-down, and no attempt was made at negotiation. Three people are said to have died directly or indirectly as a result of the police attack.

Since then, the same observer reports, difficulties have continued: "In 1993 a 15 year old girl, Sarah, was gang raped by a group of police field force at Long Mobui. Many other

women and girls are worried about the abuse of human rights against them. Now they seek help from whoever they can to help them."

"Now we find there are so many difficulties which we face and yet there is no news about our problems in the press, television and radio", say the Penan. "That is why many people don't know our problem. Sometimes we lodge a complaint to the police but no investigation or inquiry into the incident occurs. These incidents of violence have tested our patience to the limit. We have never used violence even though several people have died in the process of our blockading. Recently, the police and soldiers have informed people that they intend to search for and kill our leaders who guided us in the blockades."

It has been claimed that the government and logging companies use the village heads, Councillors and Penghulu to spy on targeted persons. They are allegedly paid rewards upwards of \$20,000 when any of these targeted persons are arrested or killed.

The Penan need urgent support because the effects of logging activities are worsening and the livelihood of affected communities is increasingly jeopardised. The pollution of water and air is causing wild game to disappear and the people also fall sick.

**Note:** Sarawak is still the world's major supplier of tropical logs and has maintained an annual log production of between 16 million and 19 million cu. metres since 1990 despite the International Tropical Timber Organisation's recommendation to reduce this to 9 million cu. metres to achieve so called 'sustainability'.

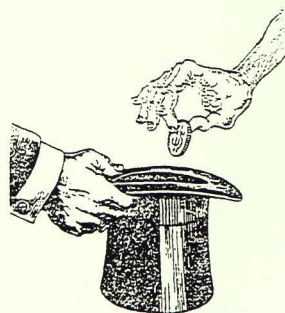
### What You Can Do

International support is requested in protesting the Malaysian and Sarawak governments' continued perpetration of these human rights abuses and forest destruction. An important matter to note is that Malaysia is jumping on the bandwagon of 'ecolabelling' of its timber products even while such atrocities continue. Please write letters of concern to the Malaysian and Sarawakian governments, and to your local and national newspapers. Point out that any attempts at "ecolabelling" by Malaysia in the midst of such atrocities are bound to fail. You could also target offices representing Malaysia in your area, such as a Malaysian embassy or consulate office, tourism promotion offices, trade offices, etc.

Address letters of concern to:

Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohammed, Prime Minister of Malaysia, Jalan Dato Onn 50502 Kuala Lumpur Malaysia.

Datuk Patingi Tan Sri Abdul Taib Mahmud, Chief Minister of Sarawak, Bangunan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Petra Jaya 93300, Kuching, Sarawak, East Malaysia.





# The Struggle for Land: Future Options

*"Denied alternative lands and livelihoods, impoverished people are moving into the tropical forests in increasing numbers", writes Marcus Colchester. "Massive and accelerating deforestation is the inevitable result". This process, he says, "can only be reversed by broad-based agrarian reforms which make it easier for the poor to secure lands and defend their livelihoods in the areas they are presently fleeing". Organisations including the Vatican, the World Bank, the FAO and blue-chip think tanks in Washington concede that "agrarian reform is crucial to saving the forests". But, rather than address the issue, UN agencies and multilateral development banks have been "increasing landlessness and insecurity by promoting rapid modernisation and industrialisation of agriculture and other sectors" (Colchester and Lohmann 1993 p326). Initiatives imposed from above to address the problem of skewed land distribution "are as effective as pushing on a piece of string". What is required, says Colchester, are "agrarian reforms based on indigenous and peasant initiatives". How can part can developed nations play? Their most immediate and essential contribution can be to reduce demand for cash crops from the South and "alleviating the pressure from externally financed development projects and assistance".*

The following is an excerpt from *The Struggle for Land and the Fate of the Forests* (Colchester and Lohmann, 1993, Zed Books). We thank the authors and the World Rainforest Movement for permission to reprint it.

by Marcus Colchester

## Obstacles to Change

Agrarian reform, although recognised as essential, has been dodged. The main reasons are political. Agrarian reform challenges the power of the elites who benefit from the present economic structures and who control the political process. International agencies which work through governments and within narrowly conceived mandates are poorly placed to support, let alone work alongside, the popular movements in the Third World that are pushing for reform.

Dennis Rondinelli has described this "power paradox" in the following terms:

A paradox inherent in agrarian reforms is that strong political commitment is unquestionably necessary to initiate them [while] they cannot be effectively implemented or sustained without diffused political support and widespread participation by intended beneficiaries. But such a diffusion of participation and power is often considered a serious threat by those whose political commitment is necessary to initiate the reform. (Montgomery 1984 p.18)

Rondinelli argues that to escape this paradox of power it is necessary to break the hold of clientilistic politics and to "create" an organisational base of political support and local participation. The reality in very many countries, however, is that the elites who control land continue to react with startling brutality to suppress the emergence of such movements for change.

Indeed, it is often objected that the only successful examples of agrarian reform that have been carried out this

century have been in the context of massive social upheaval, when the political obstacles to reform have been weakened or removed by war or revolution. The cases of Taiwan, Korea and Japan are paraded as unique examples of land reform carried out from the top down, in circumstances that could neither be wished nor planned. Other countries, by implication, should accept the *status quo*.

However, the argument does not stand up to close scrutiny. A number of Third World countries have embarked on major land reform programmes under democratically elected governments -- such as Guatemala, Brazil, Nicaragua and Kerala state in India. The problem, as in the Brazilian and Guatemalan cases, is that outside interests have intervened to destabilise these reformist governments and crush the reforms.

Yet another of the paradoxes of land reform experience in the Third World is that where land reforms have been imposed from above, they have rarely worked. Especially where the land reforms are directed by development agencies, there is serious risk that international involvement may undermine peasant processes of self-determination.

Securing property rights through the registration of land holdings itself has two inherent risks. On the one hand, the legalisation of tenure can lead to an increasing commoditisation of land, which undermines environmentally appropriate, customary management systems by promoting short-term individualist profit seeking. On the other hand, the formalisation of title even as communal land may create undue rigidity and inflexibility in customary systems, rendering them unresponsive to changes in peasant use and ownership.



Cultural factors are frequently overlooked by eager reformers. For example, except in the case of "land to the tiller" programmes, land redistribution implies massive resettlement programmes which, while they may be voluntary, have to overcome serious social and cultural obstacles. Land claims often endure long after areas are taken over by large landowners and are not therefore as "free" for redistribution as land reform laws may imply. In ethnically diverse countries, especially in Africa, resettlement may exacerbate ethnic frictions by bringing together groups which do not have a tradition of living together.

Land reforms also face the dilemma of how much assistance to provide without creating dependency and undermining peasant initiative. Newly resettled farmers may require the provision of considerable agricultural extension facilities and infrastructural investments (roads, housing, schools, dispensaries), before they can become familiar with their new surroundings and able to work their new lands well.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the development agencies were enthusiastic in applying "integrated rural development programmes" to the Third World. It became World Bank dogma that to ensure the rapid conversion of backward peasants into efficient modern smallholders, it was essential for the government to provide the farmer with a complete package of seeds, chemicals, credit and marketing -- frequently part of the Green Revolution programme -- ostensibly to cut out the middleman and promote self-reliance. Where, as in the Philippines case, this process was tied to land reforms, the peasants were also expected to put up their lands as collateral (Bello et al. 1982).

As Grace Goodell has argued, the result in the Philippines was to increase the power of state agencies and erode the economic autonomy of the peasants, many of whom are now worse off under the exactions and impositions of state bureaucracies and monopolies than they were under the landlords. In her view, the peasants would have been far better served by the existing middlemen and entrepreneurs, whom they have learned to deal with and who have learned to be responsive to peasant needs and demands. Yet the reform programme systematically undermined the private sector: rural banks, private retailing chains, Chinese middlemen and moneylenders all went out of business, depriving the peasants of alternatives to the state-imposed structures (Goodell 1990).

John Powelson and Richard Stock (1990) have developed this line of argument in their broad-reaching survey of agrarian reform, *The Peasant Betrayed*. They are scathingly critical of top-down reforms, which they argue have, willy-nilly, benefitted the state rather than the peasant.

In fact, many (probably all) peasant societies have their own well-developed systems of credit, supply, saving, investment, and communications technology. The supposition that peasants do not have these capabilities is one of the gross ethnocentricities of the development profession. (Powell and Stock 1990 p.6)

Yet the lesson that should be drawn from these studies is not that it is enough to hand peasants their land in the form of tenure that they choose and then leave them to get on with their



An immigrant farmer in Africa clearing land for agriculture. The soil will only be good for a few harvests of subsistence crops.

life. On the contrary, in a context in which a broad range of top-down economic and political initiatives are impinging on peasants' lives, such a policy, if pursued by itself, would only condemn them to further marginalisation and poverty.

Mexico is a case in point. There, energetically prosecuted land reforms unique in Latin America have redistributed approximately half the country's farm area, creating over 70% of its farmed units. Yet, as Merilee Grindle has shown, despite the extent of the reform, underproductivity, landlessness and marginality characterise most of the country's rural people. Grindle traces these conditions to government policies that have encouraged the emergence of large-scale commercial agricultural units and given little or no support to those who gained land from the reforms (Grindle 1990 p.179). In 1940, after the fall of the Cardenas government, which at the same time that it vigorously initiated the land reform had pursued a policy of support for small-scale farmers producing staple food crops, Mexican development strategy changed tack towards the promotion of large-scale farms for export and to supply growing higher-income demands for livestock products and high-value foods. In the process, notes Solon Barraclough, "its agrarian bureaucracy, originally established to aid land reform beneficiaries to become independent producers, was gradually converted to an instrument for extracting basic foods at low prices from the peasantry" (Barraclough 1991 p.105).

Experience shows that both agrarian reforms that include integrated state-directed packages and land reforms that leave small farmers to the mercy of the forces of modern agricultural "development" have failed. Where comprehensive reforms tied to "Green Revolution" packages rely on what Powellson and Stock naively refer to as the peasants' "own" middlemen (who are in fact usually local usurers and profiteers viewed with the greatest animosity by ordinary peasants) to provide them with the requisites for modern farming, the



common result is an erosion of peasant autonomy. Frequently, the consequence is the reconcentration of land or control of land in fewer hands -- landlessness, land insecurity and impoverishment then intensify (Duyker 1897; Harriss 1988; Shiva 1991). In nearly all cases, top-down reforms have had disappointing results.

The answer to this dilemma is that agrarian reform must be perceived as a political process which builds on community initiatives, secures community control of land, and involves local peasant organisations in policy-making, to ensure that they have a decisive voice in the execution of the reform programme and influence over the wider trade, fiscal and credit policies which shape agrarian change.

For example, Ronald Herring has argued that the relative success of the land reforms in Kerala in southern India has been due to the mobilised coalition of the rural poor behind a reformist political party. The reforms brought sweeping benefits to tenant farmers who gained land, and the political nature of the process ensured that even though landless labourers did not make commensurate gains in land, their situation has nevertheless improved in terms of wages, services and employment opportunities (Herring 1990; Powelson and Stock 1990 pp. 185-206).

## Pushing on a Piece of String

All this has important implications both for international agencies and those that support calls for agrarian reform. The historical record shows that top-down interventions, even those ostensibly in favour of peasant welfare and land redistribution, can undermine peasant solvency, autonomy and initiative. The peasants may appear to gain some material benefits through reforms "from above" but, if the cost is a simultaneous weakening of their political strength and economic independence, such gains will at best be ephemeral. Unless an enduring shift of power in favour of the peasants is achieved, the same forces which ensured land concentration before reform will work to undo reforms immediately after they are achieved.

The structural and political nature of effective agrarian reform thus creates a dilemma for the international community. During the colonial era, the industrial countries of the North tied the South into the global market and used their superior political strength and weaponry to haul cheap agricultural surpluses out of the peasantries of the Third World. The effect was to distort the political structures of southern countries -- often taking advantage of existing indigenous inequities -- into new forms that favoured this one-way flow of unprocessed goods towards the industrial countries of the North.

The post-war era of "development" has entrenched this same political economy, with an increasing domination of the agrarian systems of the Third World by local urban elites working in collaboration with international agencies and businesses. It is not just the countries of the North which are yanking cheap goods out of the southern peasantries, but the urban elites of the South as well. The political structures that

favour this one-way flow reach down deep into the communities themselves, in the guise of patron-client structures, racial and ethnic discrimination, and caste and class differences.

In this context, top-down reforms are as effective as pushing on a piece of string. Entrenched political structures, locally and nationally, will frustrate imposed reforms and ensure that enduring changes do not come about. The same is true of top-down macro-economic reshuffling. The benefits of debt-relief and improved terms of trade for cash-crops will not "trickle down" to the peasants, any more than they ever have. On the contrary, real change will only come about when the peasants themselves are able to reassert their political will. Only action from the grass roots can undo the political structures that, at present, ratchet-like, ensure that all shifts in prices, policies and power move wealth in favour of the already wealthy.

## Future Options

There are no quick fixes to "save the rainforests". Immediate action is certainly necessary to halt the depredations of logging, mining, hydropower development, road building, forestry master-planning and top-down land-use rezoning, but the long-term solutions depend on the emergence of genuine grass-roots movements of those forest-dwellers and peasants whose lives are rooted in the land. The process by which these peoples secure rights to their lands in the forests and gain rights to land outside the forests are bound to require slow and painful political change.

This does not mean that there is no place at all for outside action or support. What it does mean is that outsiders must learn to be accountable to those whom they would help. In the first place it must be clear that, even if "pushing on a piece of string" can undermine peasant self-determination and be frustrated by local vested interests, an essential change is for the North to stop pulling on the string. Capital flows and development agency interventions must be checked, excessive demands for the products of agribusinesses operating on land in the South curbed, and Third World economies redirected towards policies that promote national food security and the supplying of internal markets. This alone will entail major reforms in the agricultural development strategies of the international development agencies, as well as life-style changes in the North.

The international community can also take action to encourage the enlargement of political space in Third World countries to promote an environment in which power can shift back in the peasant's favour. Whatever international development assistance remains should be used to promote the creation of national policy environments that do not favour large-scale, mechanised farming and ranching. Price changes, subsidies, credit systems and tax breaks should be revised so that they are either at least more "scale neutral" or else skewed in favour of the small farmer.

In the past, development assistance -- and the international arms trade -- have been used to support regimes that have



employed extreme violence to suppress peasant movements. This must be stopped. Human rights and "good governance" criteria should play a far more central role in decisions about the allocation of "aid", in place of the considerations that prevail in decision-making today.

This "democratisation" of development assistance implies immediate, fundamental changes in the agencies' own regulations about freedom of information. "Participation" of affected groups in project planning and implementation should become routine, but this is relatively meaningless if the participants are deprived of information about what is planned and why. Development agencies thus need to elaborate very clear mechanisms by which the general public can be informed about and effectively involved in decision-making at all levels -- both in the evolution of national and sectoral policies and in the elaboration of specific projects. The token reforms so far undertaken in this direction by the World Bank and other agencies fall far short of what is needed.

If these kinds of reforms in development assistance become routine, international assistance to national processes of legislative reform could be helpful. In the first place, legislation could be assisted which secures customary tenure systems in accordance with the demands of local movements and representative organisations. There is no common prescription for what this legislation should be like, since local situations are so variable. The important point is that they be determined by those affected.

Certain types of agrarian reforms, in this wider sense, are already underlay. Moves to secure Indian territories in Latin America are one example, while various experiments with "resource transfers" in the Philippines and South Asia are beginning to be replicated through national policy changes. Legislative changes which recognise the "legal personality" of customary rights-holders can be a crucial part of this process.

Anthony Hall of the London School of Economics, who has made a detailed study of the politics of land in Brazil, believes foreign assistance could play an important role in two ways. Governmental and multilateral assistance should be directed to building up the capacity of governmental institutions charged with the implementation of agrarian reform programmes. At the same time, Hall argues, non-governmental assistance should be provide "financial and technical support to incipient forms of community organisation", the aim being to "encourage community mobilisation both within and across communities, so that such groups acquire a collective voice and a degree of bargaining power to be able to negotiate with land-reform institutions". Such "bottom-up participation and a certain autonomy of decision-making are thus essential if land reform settlements are to avoid being either totally neglected or manipulated by technocrats for their own ends. "To the extent that participation in project implementation can build upon pre-existing forms of community activity rather than attempting to create such involvement from scratch, so much the better". (Hall 1990 p.230)

Too often, books about agrarian reform pile up one cautionary tale after another to the point where the obstacles to

effective reform seem overwhelming. The desperate need for the reforms is then lost sight of and attention shifts to more politically easy options. The new means then justify a new end, and the problem remains.

The ills of landlessness and poverty have indeed been with us for a long time. The massive loss of tropical forests is, however, a much more acute problem. Unless decisive action is taken soon the vast majority of these forests will be destroyed forever. Agrarian reforms based on indigenous and peasant initiatives provide the only credible means of averting this biological and social catastrophe. The political difficulties have to be confronted.

Indigenous peoples, peasant movements, environmental organisations and human rights groups in the Third World have been challenging these political forces for a very long time. Their continuing struggles against the odds for land, social justice and against the relentless commercialisation of natural resources offer the main grounds for hope. Change must come from below if it is to be effective.

The most immediate contribution the North can make to help these struggles is to curb its pressure on the South. Reducing the demand in the global marketplace for southern-produced agribusiness products and alleviating the pressure from externally financed development projects and assistance is the first essential step.

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### ***The Struggle for Land and the Fate of the Forests***

(Edited by Marcus Colchester and Larry Lohmann, Zed Books, 1993)

Deforestation, this book argues, is an expression of structural inequalities within tropical countries and in their relations with the industrial North. Throwing aid money into the development pot will only accelerate forest loss if these structural issues are not simultaneously addressed. Based on six country studies from Latin America, Asia and Africa to illustrate the real complexity of the problem and the diversity of situations that exist, *The Struggle for Land and the Fate of the Forests* shows how land concentration, land speculation and landlessness are the main causes of improvident land use. Local people must be allowed to regain control over their land and their economies, and Third World debt cancelled if the twin problems of poverty and environmental destruction are to be tackled.



# The *Oriente* - Time to Say Good bye?

*The author has worked for several years with CIBT, as the Rainforest Information Centre in Ecuador is called. He here outlines what he sees as the greatest threats to the region, and the potential solutions.*

by Randy Smith

It seems that every time I travel to and from my home in Coca Napo Province I wonder which air route we will travel, as more often than not, the planes do not go the same route. This is encouraging to me because on some days the plane travels over extremely beautiful rainforest and the trip is almost heavenly. In the other case the route is one showing the great destruction which has come to the Ecuadorian Amazon and this destruction is likely to continue in the near future.

The purpose of this report is not to attack Ecuador in any way but to reflect accurately the present situation and offer solutions. I believe that for every problem there is a solution, but also realise that we are all part of the problem. We all use gasoline, wood furniture and newspapers. If everyone took responsibility for the product they are marketing or buying, the Amazon would have a chance. I hope that we may all become a part of the solution. No criticism should ever be made without offering a solution.

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## THE OIL COMPANIES

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While the situation is improving with new technology, many grave problems in the oil industry are yet to be resolved. Ecuador needs and thrives on oil, and it would be unrealistic to try and slow down or break the industry. It should, however, be the obligation of each company working in their areas (blocks usually of 200,000 ha.) to cancel any future road building. Roads entering the Amazon bring in destructive colonisation and delinquency, and open the doors to illegal and legal wood operations. Petroecuador is not cleaning up its act in the Amazon but I suspect that they are waiting for the results of the Texaco settlement to see who is going to pay for what.

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## LUMBER OPERATIONS

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The lumber companies have reached the Coca area and beyond, and the results are tragic. Often, the oil infrastructure for timber operations, both legal and illegal. When not permitted to work in Indigenous territories, the companies often make their deals through intermediaries. Presently, the Shuar and colonists have been buying wood from two Huaorani communities located off the Via Cononaco. The buyers then resell the wood to a lumber company. The Huaorani have great difficulty refusing what to them seem to be large sums of money and have given in to these lumber dealer intermediaries. INEFAN (Instituto Ecuatoriano Forestal y de Areas Naturales y Vida



Silvestre) should no longer grant permits to companies operating beyond the southern limits of Coca and major reforestation projects should be put into place and acted upon.

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## COLONISTS AND INDIGENOUS GROUPS

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Recently, people from the coast have been trying to force the Huaorani living on the shores of the Tiputini River to sell their lumber. The Huaorani are terrified of these colonists. Two Huaorani recently told me that they no longer leave their houses at night due to threats from the coastal people.

Too many different cultures are mixed into this small area for them to live in peace. Just outside of Coca alone, there are black and white colonists plus Quechua, Shuar and Huaorani. All wish to exploit each other, more often than not through the wood trade or hunting in each others' territory. Intermarriages have been used as a method of achieving these gains. The area is a cultural time bomb. Absolutely no planning has been done.

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## ILLEGAL ANIMAL TRADE

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You have only to walk down the streets in Puyo, Tena, Mishulli, Lago Agrio or Coca to see the results of this market. Indigenous peoples come into these major centres with many species of monkeys, macaws, parrots, ocelots, caimans, deer, capibara and guatsa for sale to the local populations. These animals usually die or end up for resale, as the majority of the people do not know how to care for them. Many restaurants and markets sell the meat of many of these species.



All vehicles should be checked at military check points for illegal trade in species and restaurants and markets should only be permitted to sell native game that were raised for this purpose. Stiff fines should be given and the money received from these could be given to the municipality for quality of life improvement projects.

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### DYNAMITE AND POISONS

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Many groups, both indigenous and non-indigenous have chosen to fish with dynamite and chemical poisons such as Thiodan and Methavin. A chemical distributor in Coca told me that recently, indigenous people have been the principal buyers. They ask for these products saying they wish to kill fish. The vendor does warn them that these chemicals are not for killing fish -- they are insecticides -- but they go ahead anyway, knowing that they are eating contaminated fish. A strict control should be imposed on these products. I wonder how many fish are sold in Coca contaminated with toxic chemicals?

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### UNCONTROLLED TOURISM

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Irresponsible tourist guides, both legal and illegal, at times offer hunting with their tours. Hunting with indigenous people should be prohibited. While it is the right of the locals to hunt in their territory, it is not acceptable for the tour guides to purchase the game for the tourists. At times an indigenous person will sell the meat and give their family only yuca or banana as they often do not understand nutritional principles. CETUR (Corporacion Ecuatoriana de Turismo) should enforce their regulations and get much more involved in protecting the interests of the indigenous people. CETUR also needs to further promote Ecuador and the Amazon to the world. Of course, for any success in tourism, Ecuador must improve its environmental track record and image. Petroleum reserves cannot last forever but the jungle reserves may be made limitless. The oil companies have their blocks, the miners their concessions, why not special 200,000 hectare blocks designated for tourism?

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### LACK OF EDUCATION

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Many criticise the indigenous peoples themselves as being major players in rainforest destruction. While this may be true on the surface, it is a lack of vision and understanding that is at the bottom of the problem. Most indigenous people simply cannot envision or understand what is happening to their territory. For the few who do, the lack of control of the situation leaves them with a feeling of helplessness. Education is the responsibility and right of every Ecuadorian. Schools, military, environment groups, government and news media should all play an important role in this.

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### THE GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS

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The government of Ecuador has no control over the present indigenous and environmental situation in the *Oriente*. The encouragement of road construction in the area shows a lack of respect on the part of the government. Because of road construction, the future holds little hope for indigenous territories. No matter what anyone says, the roads cannot be controlled for too long and when the companies leave their operations, chaos will develop in this delicate zone.

The Ecuadorian Government should take more responsibility for indigenous people and get more involved with negotiations between oil companies and indigenous groups. The oil companies concerned should increase coordination between themselves and the indigenous groups. Provincial and municipal governments must get more involved in environmental issues that affect their districts. The recent plans of the Coca administration to dump raw sewage into the Napo River is a perfect example of environmental negligence.

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### ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS

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Environmental groups, both national and international more often than not, through lack of understanding or experience spend much money fighting the wrong issues. Bickering between groups - and within groups - clearly shows that most groups cannot work together. Egos, lack of understanding, misleading information and proposals or mere errors and wrong goals are preventing their success. The environmental movement is becoming a big business but despite the increase in environmental group activity, the Ecuadorian Amazon is dying. Most groups are involved in the struggle against the oil development in the region without giving ground level solutions. These groups enter the *Oriente* by plane or land vehicles to do their film footage and studies. Many journalists, photographers and environmental groups come to the region for that major story or shot with no real benefits ever coming back to the country. Their stories in some cases are exaggerated and are creating bad publicity for Ecuador, and may in fact cause serious damage to Ecuador's tourist image and indirectly, to the rainforest itself. Already, a tourist guide is recommending that tourists not travel to the *Oriente* due to the high level of destruction. If tourism decreases in the *Oriente*, the government will probably become less interested in protecting it.

One cannot cure the problems of the Amazon through negative publicity. Only ground level solutions may help in this crisis but most media reports reflect only the problems and give no solutions. Tainting Ecuador's image will lead us nowhere.

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### AFRICAN PALM COMPANY

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An African Palm Company has entered the *Oriente*, destroying large amounts of forests and allowing chemicals to run off into the Payamino River where residents of Payamino swim and bathe. Further dumping should be halted and further expansion of this industry stopped.



There remains much forest in the Amazon. Galeras, Sumaco, Pancocha, Cuyabeno, Yasuni National Park and Huaorani Territory are some of the areas that still have much flora and fauna that is more than satisfactory for the tourist. In fact an increase in tourism may be the only thing that can protect these areas.

The region's indigenous people have made it clear they want clothes, medicines, gasoline, food and other items. This is their right but in their quest to buy them it is often the forest that pays. If these people are guaranteed financial benefits from tourism, the jungles of the Amazon will have their chance at survival. Presently, the tour guides that exploit these areas usually reap the benefits. A larger share must be given to the residents of these forests. Recently, a few guides in Banos, Coca and Misahualli have realised this and are now paying an entrance fee to the various indigenous communities.

To date, the future looks very dim for this amazing region. Big money interests, internal and external conflicts with indigenous federations, lack of control of INEFAN and CETUR, politicians' lack of concern, lack of NGO coordination and poor education make saving the Amazon seem an almost unrealistic goal. There is too little voting power in the *Oriente* as compared to the rest of the country. As it stands, in the near future islands of jungle both large and small will be scattered throughout the region between roads lined with colonisation. Deforestation will be major, with only small pockets of primary forest.

Extinction of most of the flora and fauna will leave an unhealthy situation as seed dispersal is interrupted. Present reforestation projects are not on a grand enough scale to solve this problem.

The Ecuadorians must face the truth that their Selva is dying and the only chance of saving it depends on their own ability to love, display pride for and respect their country. While the country presently reaps the benefits from the destruction, Ecuadorians will sooner or later realise that in the end they will lose.

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### WHAT ABOUT THE SOLUTIONS?

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There is no one large solution to the salvation of the Ecuadorian Amazon, but many small solutions. Ecologically improved farming practices such as Permaculture (permanent agriculture) are a necessity for both the colonists and indigenous peoples. Grand scale fish pond projects and farms designed to raise native species are urgently needed to satisfy the increasing demand for food and at the same time preserve the flora and fauna of the surrounding region. The sound exploitation and marketing of medicinal and other useful plants such as native fruits are an excellent way of gaining income and at the same time guaranteeing protection.

Recently, some oil companies have been showing increased interest in biodiversity and medicinal plants. While this could be good news for rainforest, I only hope that the



indigenous peoples in the areas concerned will be the main benefactors of this lucrative business. This could be a chance to offer them independence from these same oil companies and guarantee them income for the future. If the indigenous peoples do not benefit, one can be sure the jungle will not benefit.

Improved education including environmental and family planning issues are a must if the Amazon is to be preserved. Tourism and its by products such as handicrafts have great potential if well managed and controlled.

In every report and video about the Amazon, destruction is emphasised. I believe it is much easier to save a jungle if you see the beauty of it. Viewing an hour-long negative production just leaves you feeling helpless and hopeless. While I do believe that the viewer or reader must be informed, I also believe that it is the journalist's responsibility to accurately portray a given situation and offer the viewer/reader alternatives. Just as we are all part of the problem, we may all be part of the solution!

The only way to save the Ecuadorian Amazon is through genuine concern by decision makers at all levels, which includes CETUR and INEFAN, the military, NGOs, the news media, lumber companies, tour companies and tourists, Indigenous Federations and Petroecuador and all the other oil companies, both national and international under its umbrella. Improved legislation to encourage compatibility between the ecotourism and oil industries, improved education and the design and implementation of projects such as Permaculture is urgently needed. Further scientific studies mean nothing. The past is the best teacher. One only has to view Texaco's record in the Amazon. Absolute logic and not analysis can save the truly vast area of important rainforest for the country and the world. A small country like Ecuador cannot afford to be environmentally irresponsible.



# "Why the FSC Will Fail"

*Certification of timber is now clearly on the world environmental agenda. The stated aim of these schemes would be to enable green consumers to identify which timber on the market is truly ethical. The Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), is attempting to establish itself as an umbrella organisation for the many timber certification schemes which have sprung up in response to consumer demand for ethically acceptable timbers. However, grave concerns have been voiced. The following paper, presented at the Founding Assembly meeting of the FSC in Toronto in 1993, predicts the failure of the FSC's efforts to reduce deforestation and degradation.*

## "THE FOREST STEWARDSHIP COUNCIL - AIMS, PRINCIPLES AND CRITERIA: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION PREDICTING ITS FAILURE"

by Dr. Rosalind Reeve on behalf of  
*Rettet den Regenwald*

### SUMMARY

The Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) aims to be "an international body to accredit certifying organisations to guarantee the authenticity of their claims". In other words, it will authorise "tree friendly" labels for wood deemed to come from forests which are managed in accordance with FSC "Principles and Criteria". In an ideal world, such a scheme may be tenable. But this is not an ideal world and the FSC initiative as it stands is inoperable under current circumstances. Not only does it have no legal basis as a private body but it takes no account of the realities of the illegal trade, prevalent throughout the timber trading world, which would make monitoring virtually impossible. This and other fundamental flaws will ensure not only its failure but will severely hamper attempts to conserve the world's remaining natural forests. At best, the FSC initiative is naive; at worst, it provides a framework for the timber industry to achieve a much-desired "green veneer" and defuse pressure to attack the real issues of illegal trade, indigenous people's rights and over-consumption.

### FUNDAMENTAL FLAWS

\* There is no acknowledgement of the biosphere's need for forests, or the primacy of such need over commercial interests.

\* The accreditation scheme proposed by the FSC has no basis in either international or national law. With no legal basis to the scheme there can be no serious attempt to monitor and ensure compliance, or initiate adequate enforceable measures

### FOREST STEWARDSHIP COUNCIL PRINCIPLES FOR NATURAL FOREST MANAGEMENT

The following principles were approved by the founding membership of the FSC in 1994. The Council's statement of its principles was accompanied by an introduction and each principle was followed by more detailed points.

1: COMPLIANCE WITH LAWS AND FSC PRINCIPLES Forest management shall respect all applicable laws of the country in which they occur, and international treaties and agreements to which the country is a signatory, and comply with all FSC Principles and Criteria.

2: TENURE AND USE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES Long-term tenure and use rights to the land and forest resources shall be clearly defined, documented and legally established.

3: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHTS

The legal and customary rights of indigenous peoples to own, use and manage their lands, territories and resources shall be recognized and respected.

4: COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND WORKER'S RIGHTS Forest management operations shall maintain or enhance the long-term social and economic well-being of forest workers and local communities.

5: BENEFITS FROM THE FOREST

Forest management operations shall encourage the efficient use of the forest's multiple products and services to ensure economic viability and a wide range of environmental and social benefits.

6: ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

Forest management shall conserve biological diversity and its associated values, water resources, soils, and unique and fragile ecosystems and landscapes, and, by so doing, maintain the ecological functions and the integrity of the forest.

7: MANAGEMENT PLAN

A management plan, appropriate to the scale and intensity of operations shall be written, implemented and kept up to date. The long term objectives of management and the means of achieving them will be clearly stated.

8: MONITORING AND ASSESSMENT Monitoring shall be conducted, appropriate to the scale and intensity of forest management, to assess the condition of the forest, yields of forest products, chain of custody, management activities and their social and environmental impacts.

9: MAINTENANCE OF NATURAL FORESTS Primary forests, well-developed secondary forests and sites of major environmental, social or cultural significance shall be conserved. Such areas shall not be replaced by tree plantations or other land uses.



to combat the illegal trade in timber. This one flaw alone will ensure the failure of the scheme.

\* There is no recognition of the Precautionary Principle in the "sustainable" exploitation of all forests advocated by the FSC.

\* The scheme is based on an assumption that it is possible to manage all forests "sustainably" with the help of management plans. Yet the knowledge does not exist to ensure this at the moment, least of all with commercial scale logging operations.

\* The Principles and Criteria make no distinction between primary forests and other forests in terms of "sustainable use". There is no acknowledgement of the need to protect primary forests from commercial logging or the need actively to encourage non-destructive means of obtaining a living from these forests - "non-lethal forest management".

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## WHY THE FSC WILL FAIL

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### It is trying to be everything to everybody.

The FSC Principles and Criteria try to satisfy the timber trade, the environmental lobby and indigenous peoples, all at the same time and in that order. The obvious danger in this is that, in trying to be everything to everybody, the FSC will be nothing to anybody.

The Principles and Criteria, despite a long consultative process, err on the side of the industry and the timber-consumer rather than conserving forests and enhancing genuine respect for the rights of indigenous peoples. The claimed goal of the FSC is "to promote environmentally appropriate, socially beneficial and economically viable management of the world's forests". Open to definition, these aims are mutually incompatible. Forest exploitation that is economically viable for the international timber trade is invariably inappropriate for the environment. Even to begin to achieve such aims would require major concessions on the part of the industry involving a reassessment of ecological and economic demands. Nowhere in the FSC scheme is such action proposed.

### Market forces do not regulate trade

Experience shows that exploitation of natural resources based on international trade is invariably unsustainable. Market forces do not work to regulate voluntarily the trade they stimulate, the basic assumption of the proposed FSC accreditation scheme. Rather they tend to exhaust the resource, whether it be minerals, wildlife or timber. So far, ways to try to prevent this have depended on the imposition of strict legal controls, or a moratorium on trade until sufficient controls are in place. To be effective, such measures demand adequate enforcement, backed by a change in social and consumer habits which relieves pressure on the resource. There are numerous examples where governments have entered into agreements on fishing grounds and the trade in wildlife products. But where there has been no legal power to police such agreements, accompanied by a change in human behaviour, they have

proved totally ineffective wherever economic interests dominate.

### Learn the lessons of commercial whaling

The International Whaling Commission (IWC) is a case in point. In 1946, when the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW) was negotiated, the aim was "to manage whales sustainably". Several attempts were made to regulate whaling, but the management systems failed. Too little was known to make it possible, and a convention which had no legal powers made it impossible. Driven by market forces, the industry in turn continued driving great whales towards extinction until the moratorium on commercial whaling was implemented in 1986, forty years after the IWC was set up. By then the commercial viability of all species except one, the minke whale, was exhausted. Seven years on, the IWC at its 1993 annual meeting voted overwhelmingly against the latest computer-based management scheme proposed to regulate whaling, the Revised Management Procedure. Instead of taking a gamble, Commissioners decided in favour of caution. In doing so they made a tacit admission that we still do not possess sufficient knowledge to ensure we can "manage whales sustainably". Forests, with their complexity and diversity, present an even greater challenge to those charged with their management.

### Industry is too organised and laws are too weak

The world's forests are suffering a similar fate to the great whales but at the hands of the timber industry, the ignorant consumer and the increasing human pressure for land. The FSC attempts to target the first two. But it is up against an industry which is highly organised with skilled public relations and marketing techniques, far from being "sustainable" in any ecological terms or under effective legal control. At least 99% of the trade is acknowledged as being unsustainable (Rice and Counsell, 1993). Laws regulating it are often deficient and enforcement is weak or non-existent, conditions which strongly favour illegal trade. To try to implement a poorly conceived, non-governmental worldwide accreditation scheme with no legal backing under such circumstances has no hope of success.

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## GO BACK TO BASIC PRINCIPLES

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Rather than attempt to graft a veneer of sustainability, and therefore respectability, on the timber trade, there needs to be a return to basic principles. These appear to have been forgotten in the FSC process. Such principles acknowledge:

\* the role of forests in the maintenance of biological balance and their value in terms other than commercial viability;

\* the importance of the precautionary principle in the face of environmental and biological uncertainty; and

\* the need to enhance the rights of indigenous peoples and learn from them.



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## WHY THE FSC PRINCIPLES CONSTITUTE A CHARTER FOR DESTRUCTION

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The principles proposed under the FSC initiative are not principles as such but a mixed bag of ideas that reflect the attempt that has been made to accommodate all constituencies.

They are either completely impractical or they amount to nothing less than a charter for continued destruction - a "Chopper's Charter". Since the timber industry is the most highly organised and dominant constituency determining forest management, their "ethos" will predominate at the expense of environmental and social concerns.

The aims "Growing public awareness of forest destruction and degradation has led consumers to demand that their purchases of wood and other forest products will not contribute to this destruction but rather help secure forest resources for the future." As the opening sentence of the FSC Principles and Criteria, this is a sad demonstration of how far short the FSC falls of really tackling the forest crisis. In catering only for a small fraction of consumers who do not wish "to contribute" to destruction of the world's forests the FSC is aiming its sights very low. "The goal of the FSC is to promote environmentally appropriate, socially beneficial and economically viable management of the world's forests." As already noted above, these three aims are incompatible. In reality, economic viability will continue to win at the expense of the environment and indigenous peoples, unless substantial concessions are made by the timber industry and consumption falls. In a world challenged by the greatest extinction episode since the loss of dinosaurs 66 million years ago, the primary goal of the FSC should be to ensure conservation of the world's remaining forests, in particular primary forests, and the maintenance of biodiversity. It has been estimated that between 95 and 98% of all species on earth live in primary tropical forests. No proof exists to support the assumption that "sustainable management" of these forests, particularly management dependent on lethal techniques such as logging, is possible.

"The Principles and Criteria of the FSC are intended to apply to all tropical, temperate, and boreal forests worldwide". Is it credible to propose one standard for all forests? Wildlife managers would hardly apply the same principles to the conservation of Siberian tigers as they would to the conservation of African elephants. "Optimising the use and consumption of forest resources". The FSC should be discredited on the basis of this aim alone. The appetites of commerce, industry and consumers need to be challenged and curbed, not "optimised".

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### The Principles and Criteria

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#### **Principle #1 - Compliance with Laws and FSC Principles**

There is no acknowledgement of the deficiency of national or international laws governing the timber trade or that the requirement for compliance is unenforceable by the FSC, a body without legal powers to enter a logging concession or port area.

#### **Principles #2 and #3 - Tenure and Use Rights / Indigenous Peoples' Rights**

These principles state that indigenous peoples and local communities with legal and/or customary tenure or use rights shall control forest operations "unless they delegate control with free and informed consent to other agencies". This qualification could in practice nullify any recognition of their rights. Criminal elements in the timber trade would have little difficulty obtaining consent, but it would neither be full or informed. How will the FSC conduct investigations, without legal backing, to prove there has been no intimidation to obtain consent?

#### **Principle #4 - Community Rights and Relations**

This principle allows more for protection of the rights of timber company employees than community rights. The primary aim in this latter respect should not be ongoing consultations, compensation for damage or the mitigation of adverse impacts as this principle proposes, but application of the precautionary principle to prevent damage occurring in the first place.

#### **Principle #5 - Optimising Benefits from the Forest**

Although the word "economic" has now been deleted from the title of this principle (formerly "Maximising the Forest's Economic Potential"), nowhere in these "Principles" is it more clear that economic values predominate over those of ecology. No person, or certification scheme, can serve two competing value systems. One compromises in favour of the other. In effect, what appears to be advocated is "maximum sustainable yield", a concept which has been tried, tested and has failed, for example in the commercial whaling and fishing industries.

#### **Principle #6 - Environmental Impact**

The statement that forest management must "minimise" not prevent adverse environmental impacts pays lip service to conservation needs. In reality, a full assessment of the impact of cutting down forest, even selectively, cannot be made for at least 70 years after the event. By which time it will be too late. Here the precautionary principle is of prime importance, yet nowhere is it acknowledged. Neither is acknowledgement made of the unique nature and importance of tropical forests with regard to biodiversity and maintenance of the biosphere, or of our profound lack of knowledge. Little is known, much is destroyed. Every day it is estimated that 26-30 species are lost, mainly through tropical deforestation. To imply that "genetic, species and ecosystem diversity" can be "restored" is to put displaced faith in science over nature. Principle 6.4 states that "representative samples of existing plant communities in the forest area shall be protected in their natural state and recorded on management plan maps." The extent of diversity in every hectare of tropical forest makes this impossible, unless of course the whole forest is protected. In ten one hectare areas of Borneo 700 tree species were found - as many as occur in the whole of North America (Wilson, 1988). Principle 6.6, sanctioning the use of chemicals which have not been "banned" on what remains of pristine forests, is appalling.



### **Principle #7 - Management Plan**

The FSC places far too much faith in the "management plan". On bio-ecological grounds, too little is known to produce management plans which are not in danger of further depleting existing forests. Far more research is needed into the ecological and social consequences of forest exploitation. We cannot afford to experiment while "Even many of the most basic questions remain unanswered" (German Bundestag, 1990). Lessons need to be learned from failures with management plans to date. In Costa Rica, the introduction of management plans in 1989 has failed to limit logging. In fact the reverse has happened. "From 1989 to 1991, the years that management plans became the norm and other types of permits were phased out, the amount of wood approved to exit the semi-protected areas of the (Osa) Peninsula leaped from 17,561 to 41,760 cubic meters." The problem is identified as lack of manpower to enable monitoring and enforcement. According to a former inspector, "If we work on management plans, we can't work on illegal cutting." (Martin, 1989). Lessons must also be learned from experience in attempts to manage other natural resources, in particular the trade in wildlife and its products. The "regulation" of whaling ended in a moratorium; the ivory trade control system ended in a ban on trade; quota systems to control the trade in wild caught birds to supply the pet trade have so far invariably failed. While not contesting the need ultimately for management plans, there has to be acknowledgement first of the need for research, caution and a re-evaluation of priorities. These are inherent in the Precautionary Principle.

### **Principle #8 - Monitoring and Assessment**

The key to any accreditation scheme working in practice is the ability to verify that the product which ends up on the retailer's shelf satisfies all the criteria that have been laid down. To administer a label or a mark requires a bureaucracy. To ensure compliance requires enforcement of strict controls from concession to consumer to prevent laundering of illegal timber, falsification of documentation etc. This is simply impossible under conditions which prevail in the trade at the current time. It has been estimated that no more than 1% of all timber on the market can qualify as "sustainable". Malpractice in the industry is widespread, ranging from over-logging to exceeding export quotas, under-invoicing, evading taxes, extracting protected species, neglecting worker safety and so on (Rice and Counsell, 1993; World Bank, 1992). To limit this key consideration to one sentence and to state that "documentation ...provided by the forest manager" will "enable monitoring and certifying organisations to trace each forest product from its origin" is a clear demonstration of the naivety, and/or industry influence, which has shaped these principles. Lessons must be learned from previous trade control systems which turned out to be paper reality because of lack of enforcement such as the discredited ivory trade control system.

### **Principle #9 - Relation between Natural Forests and Plantations**

This principle quite rightly states that natural forests should not be replaced by tree plantations. It does not, however,

strongly oppose the use of exotic species. It merely states that "wherever possible tree plantations should include trials of native species."

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## **HE WHO PAYS THE PIPER CALLS THE TUNE**

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It has been proposed that the full cost of accrediting a potential certifier be paid, in advance, by the candidate organisation. Although it has been stated that the FSC must be satisfied a certifier is independent from "timber industry influence", in practice this could be very difficult to determine with any certainty. The only money available in some countries to support certification is within the industry. What is to stop a potential certifier "laundering" money to make it untraceable, even setting up a new "NGO" for accreditation? As a private organisation, the FSC will be extremely vulnerable to influence from unscrupulous elements in the timber industry, irrespective of how it is structured. In the current debate over whether the FSC should be based on a Foundation model or upon a membership association, the desire to avoid infiltration by the timber industry is used to support both sides. Yet the FSC Principles and Criteria already manifest industry influence. In reality it will be difficult to avoid influence by the industry whichever structure is chosen. Of all the interested parties, the industry is the wealthiest and stands to gain the most. Corruption takes a number of forms and is not restricted to the "developing" world. As with the accreditation process, it would not prove difficult to influence the FSC, and if necessary buy votes.

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## **CONCLUSIONS and RECOMMENDATION**

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In attempting to provide a formula for regulating all forest exploitation on the basis of "sustainable use", the FSC is attempting the impossible. In a world in which our ignorance outweighs our knowledge, we cannot determine what is truly sustainable, least at all with respect to management of primary forests (Johnson and Cabarle, 1993). Neither can we ensure that it will be complied with. The FSC Principles and Criteria lack a sound practical and ethical basis. They will be the core of the FSC, and if the core is rotten, the FSC will be rotten. Governments have failed to regulate the timber trade. It is naive to expect that a private organisation, relying on the conscience of the "green" consumer and the voluntary compliance of the industry, can succeed where governments have failed, especially while current conditions persist. Fundamental issues such as the ecological importance of primary forests, sovereignty and the illegal trade need to be tackled before such a scheme can be countenanced on anything other than a tiny scale. To suggest there is a "quick fix" to halt forest destruction, is self-deceptive. To continue with the FSC process in its current form is itself a threat to forests and indigenous peoples. Approval of the FSC Principles and Criteria and application of the accreditation scheme as proposed will only comfort consumers that action is being taken and reduce pressure on industry and governments to crack down on illegal



trade and introduce meaningful controls. There is need to face the challenges of the present to overcome them, not to appease social and commercial practices that have brought us to where we are. Acceptance of the FSC initiative as it stands would be tacit recognition by the conservation community that it can no longer fight the continued destruction of the world's forests. If we are to avoid accusations by future generations of standing and "fiddling while Rome burned", we must tackle the crucial issues of over-consumption, indigenous people's rights and illegal trade head-on. This means increasing, not slackening, pressure on industry and governments and working towards a legally binding institution based on ecological principles which recognises the prime importance of these issues. Only then may it be possible to institute an accreditation scheme with some measure of success, based on enforceable international standards and involving NGOs and governments. If, however, the FSC insists on continuing in its objective, a pilot project is all that can be attempted realistically at the moment. At the very least it could serve to highlight the myriad problems that will arise with any attempt to set up an accreditation scheme and so bring the FSC initiative back to earth. But even to give a pilot project a chance of success requires a complete reassessment of the Principles and Criteria, basing them not on "sustainable" use of all forests but on a precautionary approach to forest management.

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## Industry & Greenies Allies in New Aust. Group

The Australian Imported Tropical Timber Group (AITTG) was born from the recognition of a common need to help protect the world's remaining tropical forests. Industry representatives and environmental groups are putting their differences aside to work toward the goal of ensuring that Australia's imports of tropical timber originate from forestry operations which are sourced and certified as 'well managed'.

Methods to undertake this important task include research on unsustainable sources, researching international certification methods and supporting initiatives such as small scale community forestry operations in neighbouring countries such as PNG.

Currently participating organisations or businesses include: The World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF), Australian Timber Importers Federation, Timber Development Association (TDA), National Association of Forest Industries (NAFI), Sydney Rainforest Action Group (SRAG), Rainforest Information Centre (RIC), Greenpeace, Australian Council For Overseas Aid (ACFOA) and TRAFFIC - Oceania.

At this stage the focus is on tropical timbers -however members acknowledge that future cooperation on domestic and temperate forest issues may be helped by this precedent.

The group began meeting after the 'Rainforests Are Our Business' conference in April 1994, jointly organised by the WWF and the Timber Importers Federation. The AITTG has met several times since this event. Under the chairmanship of Mr. John Kerin, the group has drafted a Memorandum of Understanding as its basis for future co-operation.

One of the AITTG's main goals as set out in the Memorandum is to "work together in conserving biological diversity of the forest ecosystem", by supporting "the appropriate utilisation of forests and timber" while taking into account the wishes of the local and indigenous people. A more specific aim is "to ensure that all timber imported into Australia is sourced from certified forestry operations".

The AITTG intends establishing a certification scheme for timber imported into Australia, thereby providing consumers with an assurance of the source of the product and the management practices being used. One of the early tasks of the group will be to "establish a procedure to identify the original source of tropical timber imported into Australia".

A subgroup will identify possible sources of timber which importers may agree not to use. Likely areas to be investigated first are Burma, Philippines, Sarawak, Sabah and imports of substandard tropical plywood.

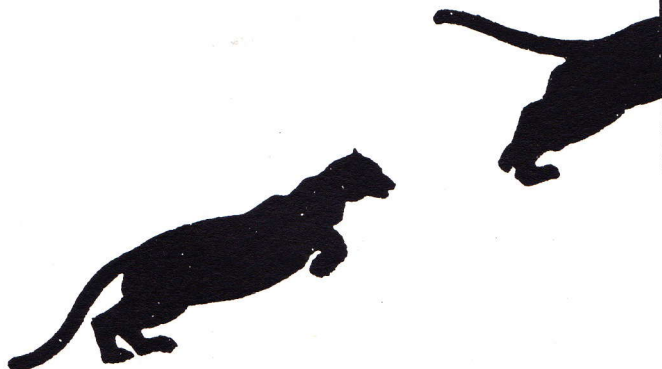
The group may be contacted through:

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\*'Well managed' is the working classification chosen to avoid confusion over the term 'sustainable'.





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